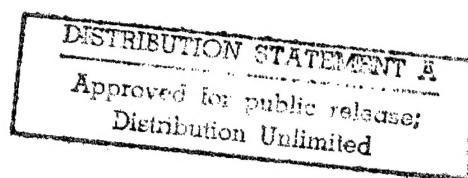


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JPRS-EPS-84-083

6 July 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 July 1984

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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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ALBANIA

DEFECTS IN ORGANIZATIONAL WORK OF PARTY EXAMINED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 84 pp 44-53

[Article by Cajup Rusmali: "For an Understanding and Evaluation of the Organizational Work of the Party in its Full Extent"]

[Text] The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always instructed that we should devote the greatest attention to and evaluate organizational questions of the party, as they are truly capital questions and of great importance. All of life proves that, in large measure, the application of the party line and policy in every area of life and its activities depends upon the correct conception and resolution of organizational questions.

At the 8th party Congress as well, the need was stressed to raise the work of basic organs and organizations of the party to a higher scientific level so that it will better correspond to the tasks set by the times and our vigorous development in all areas of socialist construction in the country.

It is a fact that in the organizational work of the party, parallel with many continual improvements, weaknesses are still encountered which have their source in both ignorance of what is necessary in the full breadth and depth of these questions, as well as in some bureaucratic and liberal attitudes and manifestations of partiality that are observed in some basic party organs and organizations.

From the analysis that has been made of the work of some basic party organs and organizations, it is clear, first of all, that there is not always a full and broad conception everywhere about the organizational work of the party as work which involves politics and ideology, economy and culture, defense and social problems, admission to the party and cadres, etc. Secondly, it is not clear to everyone that in order to further strengthen the party, an extremely important position is occupied by the development of a combative, militant party life which guarantees the best possible realization of goals, the increase of the leading role and realizing force of the basic party organs and organizations in all areas of life and the tempering of communists as revolutionaries.

## The Application of the Party Line and Policy Depends Greatly on Organizational Matters

In the work of the party, things cannot be divided as with a knife. For ease of direction there is a division into ideological, economic and organizational sectors. But to view the problems only on one plane and not as they are, in their complexity, to approach them only from one side and to forget about their other sides is to create partiality in the work of the party.

The organizations and forums of the party in the districts are occupied with all kinds of problems. It is important for them to focus on the more essential and the more acute problems which must be resolved and moved on. Aside from this, every problem takes on its own ideological and political, social, economic, organizational, etc, aspect. Parallel with the work of each functional sector, the sectors charged with organizational matters must also work well with them. To say that "this is our work, we are only involved with directly organizational tasks" means to strip the organizational work of the party of its content. Organizational matters are not an aim in themselves nor are they detached from the great problems led and resolved by the party. They are means and ways to the application of the party line. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that organizational questions are not problems of office, bureaucracy, numbers or rigid regulations, but are the solution of ideological and political directives of the party.

Daily activity attests to the fact that a one-sided understanding of the organizational work of the party and partiality in its internal life reflect badly on its leading role itself, on its work for the education of communists and the masses and on their mobilization for the realization of goals.

The experience of Sarande District, which realized almost all its economic goals during the course of last year, speaks for the high level of the educational as well as the mobilizational and organizational work of the party, beginning with the bureaus and basic organizations up to the district party committee. Similarly, the case of the Sukth, Bushat, Gjirokaster and "Clirim" agricultural enterprises, as well as the Bregu i Mates, Kemishtaj, Konispol and other agricultural cooperatives which, establishing agricultural and livestock production on a scientific foundation, realize their goals by frontal attack, both in agriculture and livestock, attests to a vital life in the bureaus and organizations of the party, to the support and stimulation of the new, of progress and of science on their behalf, as well as to the organization and direction of work in accordance with the requirements of the times. The same may also be said for the automobile and tractor combine "Enver Hoxha" in Tirana, which set an extremely good example by its role, in the organizational work of the party and its levers, with respect to the action it undertook and successfully realized during September of last year. The party committee and organizations of this combine knew how to create a tight work situation for themselves, for the cadres and for the workers, a lofty spirit of mobilization and a great feeling of responsibility in order to achieve concrete objectives.

But organizational work is not conceived and closely connected everywhere with the problems that are led and resolved by the party. There is no other explanation for the many non-fulfillments or for those foreign manifestations and attitudes with regard to work and common socialist property that are observed in some economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

There is no area of party activity where its organizational work should not be introduced. Even those problems which, at first sight, seem to be simply ideological or economic questions bear within themselves an organizational aspect as well. Indifference, for example, is a manifestation which, where it is permitted, weakens the militant spirit of the party, the basic organizations and the communists, and is actually an ideological problem. But it must be combatted, in the first place and in a concrete manner, within the life of the party organizations themselves, in their practical activity and by every communist individually. When questions are asked about what foreign manifestations exist, how the struggle against them can be organized, what example the communists and cadres can set, etc, the answers always lie in direct organizational problems of party work.

Let us take another problem of an ideological nature in whose treatment and resolution the organizational work of the party plays a great role. The 8th Plenum of the party Central Committee strongly criticized the manifestations of bureaucracy, excessive adovation of the interest of the department or sector and localism which have been observed in the work of some state administrations. The sectors that are engaged in organizational work in the party committees must observe how these ideological manifestations with serious consequences for the economy are combatted by the basic organizations, what their position is, the attitude of communists and cadres and must help them at close range. When everything passes through the screen of the party, then every attitude and act is named, whether it is an accidental error that is made involuntarily and expresses a lack of understanding or whether it is made with a definite aim. The situations that we experience require us all to be alert. These are not times to tolerate non-fulfillments, indifference and liberalism. In the struggle against these, the work of the party must be on the offensive and must be organized in a perfected manner.

Organizational questions have to be implemented especially in the genuine life of basic party organs and organizations. The resolute execution of directives of the party Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on these questions is a duty of everyone. But the party has assigned the secretaries for organizational questions and the appropriate apparatus sectors the task of monitoring the life of the party and its organizational functioning, step by step. The increase of combative capabilities in the basic organizations and forums, as well as the ensuring of the leading role of the party in the whole of life in the country, greatly depends on their work, vigilance and correctness. This requires that, in the first place, every secretary who is occupied with organizational questions in party committees in districts and the appropriate sectors should know the life of the party in its whole breadth and depth and should struggle with passion and without hesitation for the execution of the line and directives of the Central Committee on such important questions.

The secretaries of party committees in districts and in regions who pursue organizational problems occupy themselves and must better occupy themselves with admissions to the party and with problems of cadres as well, because those, too, are vital questions for the party. But in the meantime, it is necessary to bear in mind that those go well when we have a vigorous life in the party organs and organizations, when the party policy is correctly applied and when its line is carefully protected.

The secretary for organizational questions has a special role in the resolution, resolution, programming and monitoring of the execution of directives of the party Central Committee in every area. As soon as a directive is issued or a task is set, he is required, either by himself or with other secretary colleagues or even with the bureau, if necessary, to consider how the informational work should be organized with that of the communists and the masses and, together with the comrades of the forum and the apparatus, to follow how the directive proceeds in the basic organizations and among the masses: what they say about it, what position is maintained by the communists and cadres, what their opinions are, etc.

It is important that this moment be well understood, because in some cases negligence is also observed. A short time ago, the party Central Committee, in an important seminar, discussed several problems connected with the study of cadre training, but in the districts of Pogradec and Korce, the problems that were raised and the tasks that were set did not get beyond the party committee secretaries who took part in the seminar. The party committee of Librazhd District recently seriously neglected the distribution of 8th Plenum materials to the basic organizations, although instructions were given that the problems and spirit of this plenum should be conveyed as quickly as possible to the basic organizations.

The group of party committee instructors and the secretary who is responsible for party work have the role of organizing all the party work in the district. The organization of various meetings at the district level, the sending of delegates, instructing them and hearing them out, the development of seminars with the secretaries of basic organizations and bureaus, the preparation of forum and apparatus meetings, etc are questions which must be pursued with high feelings of responsibility.

#### Fundamental to all Organizational Work of the Party is the Correct Application of its Principles and Norms

Ever since its creation and throughout its whole life, our party has had Marxist-Leninist principles and norms at the foundation of its work which regulate its internal life. The struggle for their understanding and revolutionary application has been and remains vital for the strengthening of the party and its leading role. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "The more deeply...the principles and norms of its life are understood, the more correctly and deeply they are applied with revolutionary valor, the stronger and more inflexible the party will be and socialism will advance with success" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1967-68," p 41).

The whole history of our party attests to the fact that it has become greater and stronger through the titanic struggle it has waged and continues to wage in order to preserve the crystal purity of its correct line and its Marxist-Leninist principles and norms from every violation, deviation and infringement which has been attempted, but which has not achieved its aim, and from their enemies, open or concealed.

Among the principles and norms which regulate the internal life of the party, special importance is attached to collegiality in the party, discipline and the line of the masses.

The principle of collegiality, as the highest principle of the work and leadership of the party, springs from the building of our party itself as a party of the working class and from its role and functions themselves in the revolution and in the building of socialism.

The Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha have continually demanded that this principle be applied as well as possible in the whole life of party organs and organizations by every communist and cadre. Striving for the rigorous execution of these directives and combatting every negative phenomenon in this area, it has become possible for collegiality to penetrate the whole life of the basic party organizations, the bureaus and committees.

But despite this healthy condition, those cases of violations of the principle of collegiality, no matter how rare they are, must not be underestimated. The party Central Committee group that assisted and monitored last year in Tirana District, as well as some work groups of the Central Committee apparatus that had seen to these problems in other districts, have observed and criticized several work practices which damage the full application of the principle of collegiality.

In some cases, the meetings of party committee plenums in districts and regions--even those of basic organizations--are expanded to include many guests and it frequently happens that the guests speak more and at greater length than do the members of the forum or basic organizations. Some 95 guests, when the number of those elected is 97, participated, for example, in a meeting of the party committee plenum of Tirane District in August 1982 and, with the exception of the appropriate secretary of the party committee of the district and the first secretary of this committee, who drew the conclusions, those who discussed the issues were the guests.

This shortcoming has been stressed also for the meetings of party bureaus and committees in districts and party committees in regions, but even more for the meetings of some party bureaus in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives where it is difficult to distinguish whether a bureau meeting or a party aktiv is being developed. Out of 20 meetings last year, for example, of the party bureau of the "Josif Pashko" construction materials combine, 13 were held with guests. At its September meeting, the report on tasks of the plan was presented by a guest and out of about 13 discussions, only 2 were made by bureau members.

In these cases, there is frequent abuse in the name of the mass line and open work which, naturally, must be kept in mind for the future too, but everything has its limits. This is also justified by the need to solicit the opinions of as many specialists as possible or else by the need of the cadres to hear directly the observations, conclusions and tasks covered by the forum or base organization. This is work that must be done, but why at a forum meeting? Before and after their meeting it is possible to develop broad activities for both the preparation of the meeting and the resolution of tasks and decisions made by it, while the basic organization and forum must be left to judge and decide for themselves.

Setting the problem out in this way, it must not be understood that future meetings of party organs and organizations should not have any more guests, that now there should be no more open meetings of basic organizations or that guests should not be permitted to speak. The question is discussed so that a feeling of moderation should be maintained, so that there should be no excesses that damage collegiality.

Collegiality is also damaged when the meetings are loaded with many questions. At party committees in the regions of Tirana, meetings are arranged with 4, 5 or even 7 questions. If the facts are added to this that the materials are given late to the committee members and that many of the members do not devote the required attention to preparing themselves in a complete manner and with the full seriousness needed, it is understandable that the analyses are sometimes made superficially and without the requisite effectiveness.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that at party organization and forum meetings, we must come up with analyses and not only reports. These analyses must have the character of a rendering of accounts. When the participants are not prepared for the questions that will be treated at the meeting, it is not possible to emerge from the meeting with a feeling of responsibility for what has not been accomplished, nor with conviction, optimism and belief in the future.

The struggle for the further strengthening of party discipline is another party norm that springs from the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. For that reason, the party has always demanded from every basic organization, from every part bureau and committee, and from every communist that they respect and precisely execute party discipline.

Positive elements prevail in this direction, both in the correct understanding of party discipline and in the struggle of party organs and organizations, as well as of every communist and cadre, for the execution of resolutions and the fulfillment of goals. But in this area there are shortcomings and deficiencies which must be acknowledged, analyzed and corrected.

It must be admitted that in some basic party organizations, forums and communists still do not have a correct concept of party discipline. Some people think that they are applying this important party norm by being in order and participating in the basic organization meetings and paying their dues, without also connecting this norm with the extent of their execution of

functional tasks of state plans. The party teaches us that when the question is asked whether a communist is or is not disciplined, he must be examined, in the first place, from the standpoint of his vanguard role. What attitude does he maintain toward party tasks and how does he embody the requirements of the party in his attitudes and deeds at work, in life, in social and family relations? How conscientious is he with regard to what Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: "Every stage of the revolution requires new qualities and virtues from every worker; these must be embodied, first of all, by the communists"? [Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 6th Congress of the AWP," p. 180. The correct understanding of this and its pursuit with persistent attention is very important because it concerns the increase of the leading role of the party and its combative capability to convince, mobilize and lead the masses in the realization of goals.

The 8th Plenum of the party Central Committee is another concrete example given to us by the party regarding the indispensable necessity of judging the work of communists and cadres on the basis of their realization of planned goals. Such an analytically critical spirit with concrete responsibility is required in every analysis and in each of them the extent of the application of party discipline by the communists must be viewed as closely connected with their attitude toward work and production and with the help that they give in the realization of planned goals.

The party has always instructed that we must seek and view the strengthening of party discipline, first of all, in the execution of its directives and resolutions. This is a very important requirement; it is among the chief ones and extremely timely. This is because work with the resolutions is a synthetic index of the level of work of a party organ or organization, of its realizing force, of the effectiveness of all the activities it develops. In Tirana District, there are many resolutions by the bureau and plenum of the party committee, such as those for a progressively intensified zone, for specialized crop rotation, for vegetable and fruit cultivation. These have been based upon and directly anticipate political, economic and technical and organizational measures for the party itself, for the economic and state organs and for their levers. Good work is done in this area for the implementation of these resolutions in life. There are also good examples of work with resolutions in Shkoder district--such as the one for corn, and in Tepelene, Gjirokaster and Sarande for the increase and improvement of small livestock, etc.

Nevertheless, for many party bureaus and basic organizations, as well as for some party bureaus and committees in districts, work with resolutions still remains a weak point. The study of work with resolutions in some districts attests to the fact that their preparation is not always the fruit of studied work and the result of a preliminary exchange of broad and experienced opinions. For that reason, the resolutions are often too general and not all the problems that require resolution are reflected in them. There are basic party organizations in districts which have made it a rule to have little discussion about resolutions and to approve them sometimes without any discussion at all. This occurs at a time when the party and Comrade Enver

Hoxha have continually directed that in order to discuss a resolution, it is even possible to have special meetings.

The control of their execution is fundamental to work with resolutions. But despite all the increasingly better work being done by many basic party organs and organizations, there are also not a few cases where monitoring of the execution of resolutions is weak. For example, in order to set automobile combines into operation in the mine of Valias, resolutions were made and deadlines fixed by the basic organizations, the general meeting of communists of the mine, the Party Committee of Region No 2 and the bureau of the party committee of Tirana District. Nevertheless, up to the beginning of February of this year, two automobile combines remained without work. Similarly, in order to develop agriculture and animal husbandry in Mat District, there were decisions by the conference, the committee and the bureau of the party committee committee of the district, but because they were not followed up with a feeling of responsibility, the yields last year of corn, rye, beans and potatoes were very far from those planned. The party conference of Pogradec District resolved last year that 50 percent of beans should be sown under water, but only 20 percent of them were sown under water and for this reason, as well because of some other deficiencies, only 51 percent of the planned production of beans was realized.

The party organizations and organs must in no case remain silent when resolutions taken are not executed. Every indifferent or liberal attitude in these cases has serious and dangerous consequences. In oil, for example, because the directives were not executed to pass from the known to the unknown, to respect definite reports on sinking wells in sand and limestone, to use secondary intensified methods, to put discontinued wells into operation, to use scientific methods in the new structures, etc, those non-fulfillments occurred which created economic difficulties for the country.

In order to make a change in the work to execute and control the execution of resolutions, in the struggle against bureaucratic obstacles, feelings of comfort and irresponsibility, and lack of a militant spirit, there must be a striving on the part of the communists themselves and every party organization, but also on the part of the party organs in districts. The ways of assistance and control are known. Good, systematic and permanent control at the weakest points for problems that are not proceeding, for resolutions that are not being executed and where work is advancing with difficulty is set into motion by the great forces of the communists and other workers. This type of control remains a realizing force of the basic party organizations, the cadres and our people in their revolutionary spirit.

Another great principle of party work which requires special attention is the line of the masses. This is a broad and permanent area of work that is full of achievements, but also of deficiencies. In order to avoid these deficiencies, attention must be concentrated in several major directions.

First, the party committees in districts are obliged to require that the basic organizations and the communists work much more with the masses. It is

important that we convey the problems and troubles of the party to the masses in a better manner, because it is only in this way that we make them aware of the problems that we have and the situations that we experience. Last year, the serious situation created by the lack of electrical energy and fuels was successfully overcome because the party worked well with the people. In order to confront this situation, a great preoccupation with it was created not only on the part of the communists, but also on the part of the workers. This is the reason that in Tirana District, for example, in the first nine months of last year 85 million more leks of industrial products and 10 million more leks of construction volume were realized than in the same period of 1982, while 17 million fewer kilowatt-hours of electrical energy were consumed.

But work does not always go well in this area. Often, the troubles of the party and the state are not brought to the people with the required force. We are satisfied with a few aktivs and cadre meetings, which have their importance, but little is said to the masses about the situations of blockade and encirclement, about the difficulties created when the plans are not fulfilled or about the problems created for the economy by the increase of expenditures, etc. The people must be spoken to openly even when there is some lack in the market, making a distinction between what is objective and what is subjective, also criticizing in this case those who, due to their weak organizational and technical work, do not fulfill the plans for meat, milk, eggs and other agricultural livestock products.

Second, the party organs and organizations must demand closer contacts between the cadres and the masses. In the districts of Kukes, Berat, Tirane, Korce, Fier, etc, work teams and groups of the Central Committee apparatus do not find good work in this direction everywhere. In some agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, as well as institutions, the leading cadres, beginning with the first secretaries of party committees and the heads of executive committees, go mostly to meetings with cadres from the grassroots--at some aktiv or ceremony, but do not sit down as much as they should to speak with the people, the workers and farmers. In the country, usually, there are coming and goings during the day, while intimate meetings with the people are rare. The point is that one should not go to the grassroots only to talk to the masses, but also to listen to them. This is important both in order to know their troubles and comments and in order to find more rational solutions for all the problems that emerge.

The rendering of accounts by cadres before the masses is accomplished with deficiencies in some economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and institutions. The communists and the basic party organizations must insist that this party norm be executed as well as possible. For this purpose, they must also set into further motion the mass organizations which, as party levers, have an important role in the application of the mass line.

Third, it is imperative that the mass line should be better applied in the actual life of party organs and organizations. The party Central Committee has continually stressed that the advanced thought of workers, cooperativists, cadres and specialists should be introduced into the party organs and organizations and that this thought should be used better in all managerial

and organizational work, for problems that are analyzed and for resolutions that are made. This is very important for increasing the scientific level of the whole work of the party organs and organizations. But in practical activity, it is observed that not all the party organizations regularly take the thought of the masses outside the party for their agendas, for the problems that can be examined and for the resolutions that can be made. This is very important for increasing the scientific level of the whole work of the party organs and organizations. But in practical activity, it is observed that not all the party organizations regularly take the thought of the masses outside the party for their agendas, for the problems that can be examined and for the resolutions that can be made. Another instruction is not being applied everywhere as it should be: that after every organizational meeting (naturally, this depends upon what is discussed at it), the collective should be informed about the problems that were raised and about the resolutions that were made. The line of the masses must also be better applied to such problems as admission to the party, work with cadres, etc. The practice introduced during election campaigns in the party, when generally good and effective work is done for the application of the line of the masses, must be kept in mind and must be enriched throughout the whole activity of the party base organizations.

These and a number of other problems indicate that the organizational labors of the party are many and extremely important. Every basic party organ and organization must understand and apply them in this breadth and depth. At the seminars organized in June of last year and in February of this year by the apparatus of the party Central Committee, stress was again placed on the indispensable necessity of devoting much space and time to the organizational problems of the party. In this way, by strengthening the organizational work of the party and its levers, work will also be made easier for the resolution of economic problems, which actually occupy much of the time of basic party organizations and party committees in districts.

The role of the party committee apparatus of districts in the strengthening of organizational work in basic party organs and organizations is a great one. In the struggle with manifestations of bureaucratism, technocratism and the sector spirit which are observed in some cases in the work of some from this apparatus, they will be further invigorated and revolutionized and the basic organizations of the party will be assured of better assistance.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN CZECH PHILOSOPHY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 5, 1984 pp 149-150

/Review by Oldrich Sevcik of book "Ideologicky boj ve vyvoji ceske filozofie" /Ideological Struggle in the Development of Czech Philosophy/  
by L. Hrzal and J. Netopilik, Svoboda, Publishing House, Prague, 1983,  
455 pages/

/Text/ Svoboda Publishers released at the end of last year the revised and enlarged second edition of L. Hrzal's and J. Netopilik's book "Ideological Struggle in the Development of Czech Philosophy."

The monograph's extensive material, which includes a wealth of quotations, points out the basic prerequisites for the adoption and development of Marxism in Czechoslovakia and also discloses, consistently against the historical panorama of postwar years, the sources and forms of distortions of Marxist philosophy as well as efforts to revise it. It strives to answer systematically the question of "how it was possible, after 20 years of socialist development, to pervert the meaning of basic concepts and ideas of Marxist-Leninist thought in the realm of philosophy...and aims, above all, at disclosing those objective and subjective conditions that facilitated the penetration of revisionism into philosophy in CSSR, criticizing revisionism's main representatives..." (pp 5-6)

Stating the basic problem in this manner thus freed the authors from mere description. It made them formulate and solve key problems, deepen their analysis of a number of ideological confrontations of recent times, relate philosophical, ideological problems to the policy of the CPCZ, evaluate theory in the light of class and ideological characterizations.

Thus the work is geared toward questions of immediate ideological significance. The struggle of Marxism-Leninism with existentialist-anthropological and scientific-positivistic revisions, conflict of worldviews, in short, a struggle of ideologies is the central theme of an immensely vast realm of philosophical problems which the reader encounters on the pages of this comprehensive book. The authors are clarifying the place of philosophy in the societal process. Thus the

book clearly indicates precisely what an important role that "abstract" philosophy, which has often been underestimated until now, plays in ideological activity, even in its specific functions such as its relationship to social awareness, to social sciences, and the like. In its own way, i.e., in its criticism of the consequences of revisionist tendencies in philosophy, the publication answers the question of where and how philosophy effectively shapes and fulfills its "practical" role. The development of Marxism-Leninism appears in the analysis as one of the basic, principal prerequisites to consolidation in the realm of ideology. From this conclusion also stems the emphasis which the authors place on combining Marxist philosophy with practice. "For the years 1981-1985, the party charged philosophers in Czechoslovakia with the task of developing Marxist philosophy in a manner that would enable it to become an ever more important tool for recognition and further revolutionary transformation of social reality, to help the party carry out ever more effectively its informational, programmatic, ideological and educational functions, to activate the broad masses of working people in the communist reconstruction of society, and to develop, strengthen and deepen the theoretical bases of socialist consciousness." (p. 412)

The authors analyze the relationship between science and ideology, just as they analyze theory and practice, philosophy and politics, dogmatism and revisionism, not only in the extensive third chapter; on the contrary, L. Hrzal and J. Netopilik keep returning to the fundamental spheres of problems in the course of the entire monograph and apply them in new relationships. The whole thrust and polemical tenor of the monograph compels the authors to formulate basic approaches, generalize experiences gained from the ideological struggle in Czech philosophy. In the very conclusion of the last chapter, "Critique of Revisionist Models of Socialism," which is most closely tied to the theory and practice of building socialist society, L. Hrzal and J. Netopilik return to philosophy and write: "One of the fundamental problems of our philosophy was its relationship to practice. In the party documents, philosophy and other sciences were criticized again and again for their separation from practice. If in the 1950's uniting theory and practice degenerated more or less into dogmatic explanations of political actions and defense thereof, then toward the end of the 1950's and at the beginning of the 1960's, in connection with an exaggeration of our faults, the other extreme emerged--the pitting of theory against practice and the ideologizing of theoretical conceptions. Instead of examining and searching for ways to develop our society, 'new ideas' were being marshaled which were supposed to give this development a further impulse. These 'new' ideas were being found ever more frequently in the bourgeois world of that day." (pp. 385-386)

Already in the first edition of the publication, the authors pointed out that they were not writing "a history of philosophy." From the second edition they eliminated entirely those portions of the text

that had a wholly or predominantly historifying and descriptive character and concentrated on "the struggle of ideologies." The text gained thereby a unity of content as well as ideological unity. It makes the reader ponder about history, takes him to the center of formation of Marxist philosophy in Bohemia in the postwar period. This thought was emphasized at the June meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1983, which underscored the fact that it is not possible to carry on effective ideological work without a well-functioning mechanism of retrospection. Facing up to today's imminent tasks assigned to philosophy by the 16th Congress of the CPCZ cannot but be accompanied by clarification of past development. Through understanding "the past" we are simplifying our present-day problems, and we will be able to conquer them. This is the way the authors of the monograph chose.

It is worth mentioning that the publication, issued first in 1975, fulfilled a most urgent task delegated to social scientists by the CPCZ: to evaluate critically the whole postwar development of Czech philosophy in the light of what we have learned in the years 1968-1969. The new edition of "Ideological Struggle in the Development of Czech Philosophy" shows that it was a task that had to meet far more than a short-term need. It not only had to present a relevant reconstruction of basic developmental trends in Czech philosophy after the year 1945; in accordance with the set goal, the authors combined from the beginning a critique of revisionism in the field of philosophy with arguments stressing the need to strengthen and develop socialism further. They intensified the aim in the new edition of the monograph by placing the revised chapter "Critique of Revisionist Models of Socialism" at the conclusion of the book. In the first edition, they evaluated critically not only mistakes, shortcomings and distortions when they judged individual developmental stages of philosophy, especially that of the 1960's, but they also referred to authors and works that have continued to contribute to Marxist-Leninist philosophy until today. To the advantage of the monograph, this approach is intensified in the second edition.

The factual, argumentative style and the relatively large number of quotations are in accordance with the polemical form of the publication, with the purpose of the book. The authors take a clear stand when evaluating, the reader can take part in the reasoning, can form his own opinion. The revised and enlarged edition of "Ideological Struggle in the Development of Czech Philosophy" was published also in the USSR under the title "Struggle Against Revisionism in Czechoslovakia" (Mysl, 1982).

L. Hrzal's and J. Netopilík's work remains the most comprehensive contribution to the struggle of ideologies and worldviews in the CSSR, and thus also a contribution to the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

12435  
CSO: 2400/332

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MEASURES TO CONSERVE FUEL IN ARMED FORCES URGED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1984 (signed to press 9 Mar 84)  
pp 120-122

[Article by Lt Col R. Haas, economist: "Exercise Energy Awareness--Use Fuel Efficiently"]

[Text] Motor vehicles are used to ensure that combat training can take place and for the daily supply and maintenance of the troops. Far more than 70 percent of the gasoline and diesel fuel supplied to the National People's Army (NPA) and the border troops of the GDR is consumed annually in fulfilling these functions. This fact and the need to reduce transportation costs substantially, at the level of the national economy, are behind the rule contained in order No 01/82 from the Minister of National Defense: "When using motor vehicles, the principle of the strictest economy and the most efficient use of fuels and lubricants must be adhered to."

Various possibilities exist for conserving fuel.

--The design characteristics of the vehicles can be changed, particularly engines and transmissions. As the example of the manufacture of the diesel-powered Ural 4320 clearly shows, the vehicle manufacturerers are moving in this direction.

--Motor vehicles are used properly, in accordance with prevailing conditions, and their payload or seating capacity is utilized to the full whenever possible. This includes the use of fuel-efficient vehicles types to perform a specific job carrying cargo or passengers, coordinating vehicle use by combining several transportation assignments, appropriate route assignments, if this is possible, and discharging assignments during low-traffic periods, and so on. The above-mentioned order establishes appropriate assignments. Methods for coordinating and planning the use of motor vehicle equipment, which have been in force in the Moeckel unit since 1 June 1983, are aimed at highly disciplined use of vehicles and efficient utilization of motor vehicle equipment.

--Transportation is shifted to other, more energy-efficient sources.

--The conditions established for the maintenance and mechanical condition of motor vehicle equipment (c.f. A 054/1/002) are always adhered to as a prerequisite for optimal use. As part of this, the quality of all types of technical service is being improved and all period checks of motor vehicle equipment prescribed in the regulations must be carried out consistently.

--The drivers are given the ability and their willingness is stimulated to match optimal use of the vehicle's technical parameters to prevailing operating conditions on every trip.

Looking at these possibilities, it becomes clear that design changes cannot be influenced and only a partial influence can be exerted on shifts in transportation in the commands, units and institutions. Coordinating use is a more likely possibility. Good results were achieved in this area in 1982. This was not the least of the reasons why vehicles of the NPA and GDR border troops covered 13-percent fewer kilometers than in the previous year.

It is far less time-consuming and requires less materiel to reach a level of maintenance prescribed by regulations and to instil optimal driving habits. In the relevant literature on the subject, general statements can be found to the effect that driving habits can affect fuel consumption by up to 20 percent. So every instructor and superior officer who directs or conducts military drivers training, or to whom drivers are assigned must keep this requirement in mind: "Teach Energy-Aware Driving."

Each driver must be encouraged to develop the willingness to improve on the certified fuel consumption norms, using his knowledge and skill, and this willingness must be maintained during his duty period. Current norms and superstandards or future consumption norms always represent average figures for calculated conditions of operation which correspond to the knowledge and skill of a large number of drivers or the technical requirements of a large number of vehicles. As a consequence, the possibility exists for every driver to improve on this median figure. It presupposes his willingness to work hard for optimal driving habits and the best possible fuel consumption figures under all conditions.

A few aspects are examined more closely in what follows.

#### 1. Educating the Drivers

The fact that, under the same conditions of use and with the same technical assumptions, drivers diverge substantially from one another in their vehicle's fuel consumption, indicates quite clearly the decisive influence they have on the economical use of motor vehicles. They sit at the wheel, they operate the accelerator pedal, the gear shift and the brake. They are directly responsible for the condition of their vehicle. After completing military drivers training a driver should possess the knowledge, skill and ability that enable him to drive in a manner that conserves materiel and energy. What does this include?

--He knows exactly what the performance parameters of his vehicle are and utilizes them according to the prevailing conditions.

--He complies with the permissible maximum speed. If he exceeds the maximum ordered speed allowed (even when overtaking), a truck's fuel consumption rises between 3 and 5 liters/100 km. Wear on the motor, transmission, axle and tires increases, as does the danger of accidents. About 30 percent of all traffic accidents in the NPA and GDR border troops, in which an individual is at fault, are caused by excessive speed.

--He maintains the required operating temperatures of the engine under all weather conditions. Engines which run cool consume more fuel and wear faster.

--He warms up the engine at moderate rpm's or uses available preheating systems. Warming up the engine while stationary is not permitted (environmental protection) and promotes wear. Fuel is consumed without a single kilometer being driven.

--He does not allow the engine to run uselessly at idle, but switches it off. Naturally, the starting system must be functional.

--The military driver drives economically. He uses the energy-efficient rpm range by selecting the correct gear at the right time. He looks ahead when he drives, without abrupt acceleration or braking, he drives smoothly, adapting his speed, avoids any unnecessary overtaking and "floats" in the traffic flow.

--He selects four-wheel drive and the low axle ratio only when needed for off-road driving or when the road surface is bad.

--He maintains the intervals ordered in a convoy. "Breaking away" from the man in front and driving on the tail of the convoy costs additional fuel and there is the hidden danger of accidents, even if the ordered maximum permissible speed is being observed.

--He makes sure that his vehicle is correctly loaded and that the permissible axle loads are observed.

--He services his vehicle before, during and after use. He is familiar with the work that must be carried out during inspection checks and daily technical maintenance and has available the equipment suitable for working on his vehicle.

--He makes sure all the filters are clean, which can materially affect both fuel consumption and wear.

--He makes sure that the seals on the carburetor and ignition or injection systems is undamaged. If access is needed while the vehicle is being driven, he reports it to his superior officer. A technical diagnostic inspection can readjust the specifications to their optimal setting.

--He makes sure that lubricant and tire pressures are correct, to prevent unnecessarily high fuel consumption and wear.

--He observes service intervals and change intervals for oil or special fluids. Incomplete service work lead one to expect increased wear and premature breakdowns.

It was good advice for those units in which such virtues were inculcated from the outset in the new draftees in political-ideological work. Lectures by experienced officers to future military drivers on the activities of the military collectives on economical management, combined with exchanges of experiences in methods of using fuel and materiel thrifitly in the former work collectives, are suitable ways of educating them to think and act in energy-economical ways and to make the same national-economic concern clear in a new area.

In this phase and then during active duty as a driver, only minor success can be expected if it is left up to the drivers to improve on the fuel norms. Drivers should participate in the initiatives "Outstanding Quality Vehicles" or "I Am Driving the Most Efficient Kilometer." In addition, efforts should be made to persuade them to undertake a tangible personal commitment to improve on the norm by an amount to be determined by them. This is currently possible in the form of improving on permitted fuel consumption by a specific percentage.

New methods are presently being tried out in some units, using material incentives to conserve fuel (to be discussed in detail later). Using these methods, an improvement on the norm can be determined concretely and the amount of the reimbursement per liter of fuel saved can be established. Naturally, driving with fuel consumption figures lower than the norm can be only be demonstrated with properly filled out order and certification books for the mission. Fuel consumption must be calculated immediately after the mission. A comparison of the permissible fuel consumption with the amount of fuel taken on provides information about the mechanical condition of the vehicle. If the consumption is higher, the calculated permissible consumption should be rechecked. Only then, in the event of excess consumption, will the vehicle be taken out of service temporarily and technical work begun and/or it will be necessary to review the drivers' driving methods to determine the causes.

## 2. The Influence of the Service and Maintenance Specialists

The mechanical and maintenance condition of motor vehicle equipment and, consequently, vehicle-related fuel consumption is quite decisively affected by the quality of technical service and diagnostic inspections. The service and maintenance specialists share the responsibility that the technical conditions exist for energy-economical use of vehicles following maintenance and diagnostic inspections. They check the engine and its accessories and the correct adjustment of valve lash and ignition timing. They inspect all the elements in the fuel system that can influence fuel consumption and adjust them precisely. They carry out the required diagnostic inspections of the fuel and

ignition systems annually. They adjust the latter to the legally established emission figures and then seal it. They inspect wear in individual parts and replace them if necessary (contact breaker, carburetor, injection pumps, injection nozzles, etc.).

It is our intention to have a materially more stimulating effect on the work of these specialists and its influence on economical fuel consumption. Suitable solutions are presently being tested. Constantly making the specialists aware of the responsibilities of their job and providing them with the capability of executing high-quality work that is required of them in technical service must be an inseparable component of education and training in the maintenance and service facilities.

### 3. The Responsibility of Superior Officers and Those in Charge of Vehicles

The education and training of drivers and specialists just described is only one way in which superior officers can influence the economical use of fuel. On the other hand, it is their responsibility to see that the conditions required for educating drivers in energy-conscious behavior and in the use of vehicles to conserve energy are set up and observed. Let us stress some of these conditions at this time:

--The measures for required instruction and advanced training will be implemented with the drivers and the specialists for service and maintenance! The foundation stone for fuel-conscious actions will be laid with the education of the drivers, employing the best instructors for military drivers training, meeting the objectives of the training programs with respect to content and time, and the ability and willingness to use test equipment at the service points and in the shops.

--Full utilization in the transportation sphere will be achieved by coordinating several transport assignments to be carried out with one vehicle, employing the most energy-efficient equipment and by means of the increased use of trailers. The use of empty vehicles, particularly on return journeys, is to be avoided whenever possible! There are still reserves to be tapped here. During the mission, those in charge of the vehicles can influence fuel consumption by observing the permitted or appropriate speed.

--Convoys are to be assembled in a practical fashion! Hard-to-maneuver vehicles should travel as far to the front as possible, so that the convoy can reach constant speeds. It should be kept in mind that in the case of route maps the average speeds are oriented toward the economical driving ranges of the vehicles in the convoy, except for the required assignments. (The "Bulletin for Driving in Convoy," Ministry for National Defense, 1981, contains valuable advice.)

--Training should be planned in such a way that the necessary time is available for inspection checks and daily technical maintenance, and troops from the crews or units can assist the drivers! Only by performing all regulation service procedures can motor vehicle equipment be maintained in a condition to ensure fuel conservation during continued use. The same applies

to the planning of technical service operations Nos 1 and 2, to the planning of periodic inspections, parking days and other service work. This includes checking the annual Technical Diagnostic Examination, which can be checked on the basis of the entries in the operational order and certification books (pp 62-63).

--Finally, it is necessary to recognize the struggle by the drivers and the units to improve on permissible fuel consumption and fuel norms not only in a material way, but also to stimulate it as an ideal as part of the competition. As positive experiences from many units show, the following methods are particularly suitable:

The best and the worst results, as well as the fulfilment status of pledges received, are posted on the units' bulletin boards.

Where the same operations are constantly repeated, using the same equipment, projections for fuel consumption are established. Whether the projections were met is calculated publicly on the unit's bulletin board following the operation. (Meeting projections should generally be calculated following each operation. This applies also to mileage projections.) Drivers who have improved on the fuel norms by the greatest amount recount their experiences. Drivers who are exceeding the norm offer a rebuttal. It has always proved to be most effective when the former drivers gave an account of their previous driving habits after they met or exceeded the norms under the guidance of a model driver or of an instructor. Experiences of this kind can be exchanged both in drivers' forums, in current political discussions as well as in circles for the acquisition of classifications.

Outstanding results by drivers, units or groups should be popularized in the publications of the NPA.

In order to be able to compare the efforts of units of a command with different types of equipment in the struggle to consume fuel economically, the indicator "Liters Consumed per 100 Km" is available. This indicator is calculated including all types and at a specified time it is made the equivalent of 100 percent. It allows the efforts of these units to show up by following the percent development. The following example explains this:

Unit A has an average consumption of 55 liters/100 kms, Unit B of 32 liters/100 kms. Both units reduce their consumption by 5 liters/100 kms. Unit A reduced its consumption to 90.9 percent, Unit B to a better 84.4 percent. Unit B would be ranked equal to Unit A, if it had improved on the initial figure of 32 liters by only 2.9 liters.

#### 4. Qualified Standard Work to Stimulate Fuel Conservation

The current military regulations governing the payment of bonuses for fuel conservation are based on standard norms and on deducted surcharges which are established for specific operating conditions. Only the surcharges for cross-country operation are modified in accordance with actual conditions. In the 8 years this arrangement has been practiced certain factors have caused its efficacy as a stimulus to fuel conservation to stagnate. In particular:

--The use of surcharges became complicated when different amounts had to be applied to partial sections of an operation. Even with calculating aids, only partial progress was achieved.

--Drivers of motor transport equipment were favored, while drivers of combat training and combat equipment, used predominantly in cross-country operations or in operations to safeguard combat training, were at a disadvantage. Even modified surcharges were not able to inspire all the drivers by way of a bonus to improve on the norm.

--Other groups or individual army personnel, whose work creates the conditions for education in energy-conscious behavior, for keeping equipment in regulation condition or for fuel-efficient operation, are not included. Their efforts to create the conditions for reducing fuel consumption in the unit can only be stimulated on an ideal level or from bonus funds.

The great economic importance of using fuel economically demanded a new quality of regulations which would interest all those involved more strongly in fuel conservation. It was a matter of developing stipulations under which all drivers can be included. In addition, conditions had to be drawn up stating that all those who, through their influence on the performance of the drivers, on the mechanical condition of the motor vehicles, or through the operation of motor vehicles, can create the conditions for the economical use of fuels, can in future be stimulated in a material way.

From the beginning of 1984 to the middle of 1984, new forms of accounting and evaluating motor vehicle equipment fuel consumption and of calculating and payment of material recognition of fuel conservation with vehicle equipment have been tested in a series of units. What characterizes the newly drafted regulations?

--Norms which correspond to the average consumption per 100 kms over several years for each vehicle type form the basis for calculating permissible fuel consumption. These norms include all possible operating conditions, in accordance with use in previous years. Surcharge deductions of all kinds have been dropped. Simplicity of operation is guaranteed.

--The norms are not universally binding, but taken into account the different conditions of use in the units. They are confirmed by the group for the unit. Within the unit the norms are to be applied in a differentiated fashion to the elements or groups of vehicle equipment with approximately the same conditions of use.

--The norms are comparable. Substantial discrepancies in the norms for the same types of vehicle become visible and must give occasion to an examination of the causes. An electronic data processing project for calculating and evaluating use-limit and fuel consumption, introduced in 1983, determines the corresponding consumption figure (liters/100 kms). In addition, by comparing the development of the norm and consumption, the actions of the unit/command to improve on the norm become apparent and can be included in the competition.

--During the calculation period, it is up to the unit to improve on the norms that the group has confirmed. Their reimbursement per liter of fuel saved depends on this and, as a result, the total amount of material resources available to the unit. Savings achieved by individuals or consumption in excess of the permitted amount are settled within the unit. Thus, material recognition can only be paid, if the unit as a whole was able to conserve.

--Besides recognizing the performance of the drivers, the efforts on behalf of economical fuel consumption of all who shared in the overall savings through their work can also be materially stimulated. These are the repair specialists, squad leaders, technicians, brigadiers from the drivers collectives and other individuals or collectives from the unit who have an influence on mechanical condition, the education and training of the drivers, equipment operation and other conditions affecting fuel consumption.

--The drivers of vehicles from all use groups are treated equally. Their share of the unit's resources is not only determined by the amount of fuel saved by the vehicle in question but also by the way they perform their duties. The earlier shortcoming, that drivers of vehicles with a high annual mileage were favored, while exemplary drivers of combat vehicles with few runs each year were at a disadvantage, has been eliminated.

--If a norm is improved on by more than 5 percent, it must be drawn up more precisely. This ensures periodic work on the norms, taking into consideration the best figures achieved in using fuel economically.

The savings achieved in the units and by the drivers are revealed in the documentation of utilization. For this reason the payment of material recognition for fuel conserved is linked to completing the order and certification books for operations and the monthly utilization plans in regulation fashion. Every liter of fuel saved and every improvement on a norm must have exact proof and be conclusively verifiable. Checks during the initial months of testing prove that much more care is needed in this area. Things must not reach the point where a driver receives no recognition because of inadequate proof, although the fuel saving was obviously achieved. It was further established during the checks:

--The norms have not been differentiated in each unit between the elements and/or vehicle groups. This part of the work on the norms is, however, the more important, even if it is the more difficult. In individual cases it will be possible to apply the unit norm to the vehicle as well. This would conceivable in the case of camps and other supply or repair facilities, whose equipment operates on specific routes that always remain the same. But when both combat training and daily supply transport are provided in a unit using the same types of vehicle, and additionally similar equipment is standing in the combat depot and is used only for off-road exercises, the unit norms cannot be transferred directly to the vehicles that are used in different ways. In this instance, the unit norm provides the average figure, from which the norm of the individual vehicles or of the vehicle group must deviate upward or downward.

The work on these standards is so important because the rates for reimbursement per liter of fuel saved are M 0.50 if the norm is improved upon by 2 percent, and M 0.75 for more than a 2-percent improvement.

##### 5. Concluding Remarks

An understanding of the correctness of economical management and the personal commitment of all members of the army responsible for it are crucially important for the full utilization of all factors which have an influence on the economical use of fuel. Ideological work will be decisive in achieving permanent success in improving on fuel standards. It is a question of using every opportunity, such as meetings, advisory sessions, personal conversations and discussions with drivers collectives and giving a convincing explanation of the initiative "Efficient Kilometers" as a contribution to realizing our economic goals in the 1980's. Slowing down in the work, even with the provisionally best drivers and collectives, will always have negative effects. Besides, with standards being constantly improved on and more demanding standards, new problems will arise, particularly with those who were just managing to meet the standard or who did not meet it. Taking a cue from the best, exemplary behavior on the part of superior officers and further qualification of the design of operations and standards will help in the economical use of fuel.

9581  
CSO: 2300/517

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LASER SIMULATOR USED IN GUNNERY TRAINING

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 18 1984 (signed to press 2 May 84) p 8

[Article by 1st Lt B. Krauzig: "Three Turrets and a Container; the Trainer for APC Gunners"]

[Text] On page 8 of VOLKSARMEE, No 15, 1984, an article entitled "An Efficient and Economical Training Aid: The APC Training Complex" introduced a new piece of equipment being used by our ground forces. The article pointed out that up-to-date, intensive training calls for the use of simulators and trainers in the case of motorized rifle units as anywhere else. The following article, dealing with still another training system, is meant to show that microelectronics and laser technology are beginning to play a part in this field. [The Editors.]

A new piece of equipment has been developed for use by motorized rifle formations which does justice to modern-day training requirements. The item in question is a training complex for APC gunners.

What is it all about? It is the long-cherished dream of all training personnel who ever had anything to do with the turret guns on an APC to be able to "look in" on the gunner's actual aiming process. With the help of the simulator, this dream has now become a reality.

Operating from a control container, the instructor is able to train three gunners simultaneously in a highly efficient fashion. The following is a brief rundown of the operating principles and the options available to the instructor. The complete unit consists of three APC turrets constructed exactly like the original. The turret is part of a seesaw which simulates the APC's motion both horizontally (as it reacts to the terrain) and vertically (as the driver steers the vehicle). The seesaw controls may be operated automatically or manually from the container. The gunlaying mechanism forces the gunner to stay within the indicated field of fire. The turret has a built-in laser and facsimile. These elements make it possible to control the following operations:

The gunlaying procedures as well as the operation of the gunsight may be observed and in addition the point of aim in alignment and in the engagement of a target.

The laser helps the trainee simulate the firing of the turret guns—both the 14.5mm KPWT machine gun and the 7.62mm PKT machine gun. There is the possibility of engaging targets at a distance of 1,000 meters and under the influence of diverse meteorological conditions.

If the gunner scores a hit, the target will drop or he will be given an acoustic signal.

#### A Turret on the TV Screen

There are a number of control elements to tell the instructor exactly how effective the gunner is—among them: number of shots allowed; count of shots fired; keeping score; registering the first hit; registering of "brief stops" and of instant of opening fire after sighting of the target.

The unit also makes it possible to simulate firing from a fixed position, from "momentary halts" and while in motion either by day or by night—either with the laser or with live ammunition. The instructor can give the gunner individual attention and observe his gunlaying capabilities on his monitor. He can store the results achieved by each gunner and recall the data at will. The "brief stop" is preprogrammed and may be inputted either by the gunner himself as part of independent practice or by the instructor.

The simulator makes it possible to train the APC gunners in a qualitatively new fashion in that there is no need to make use of the actual technology. In the gunnery practice building and at the training site, the gunner acquires the skills and the proficiency which prepare him in a real way and to a very large extent for engaging important targets at direct fire distances and beyond.

To all those who took part in the development and construction of this training device we owe a debt of gratitude. At the same time, we hope that this facility will provide many of us with an incentive to work out similar projects and plans.



Fig. 1. Two of the three turrets of the complex mounted on seesaws (mobile; may be coupled to traction engine). Container in background.

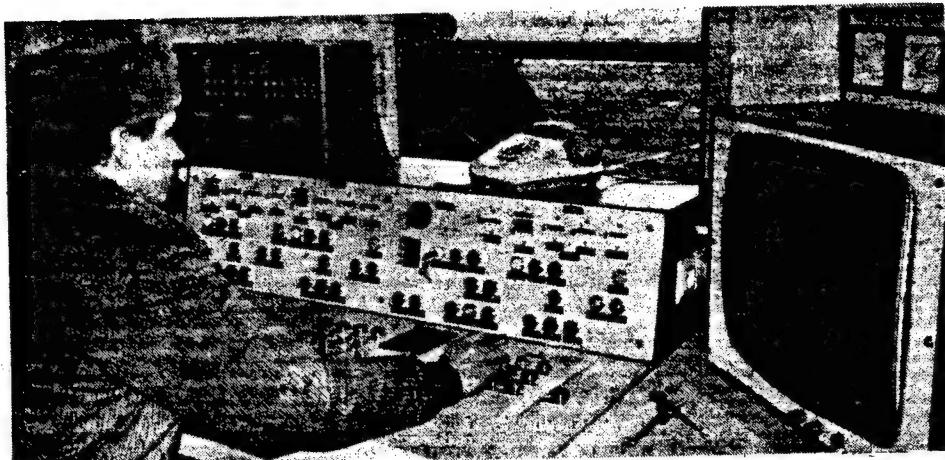


Fig. 2. The instructor's post inside the container; note the TV screen on his right with the help of which gunners can be given personalized training.

9478  
CSO: 2300/533

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

SWEDEN REJECTS GDR IMMIGRANTS--The police at Arlanda Airport [near Stockholm] Have succeeded in stopping the stream of refugees from East Germany. The strategy which set a stop to this was to subject planes coming from East Germany to passport inspection before giving the passengers permission to get off. For those who lacked a visa from Sweden it thus meant only remaining in their seats for an immediate return trip to East Berlin. Already during the first 4 months of this year, however, Arlanda has had to accept over 1,000 refugees who lacked permission to enter the country. This is an increase of 185 percent, compared with the same period last year. Presently, according to the chief of the Arlanda Airport Police, Inspector Sven Smedjegarden, "only" between 5 and 10 refugees per day come to Arlanda. They come with various flights, but most are transported to Arlanda by Scandinavian Airlines System. They are transit passengers from Copenhagen. Transit passengers' visas for Sweden are not checked at Copenhagen's Kastrup Airport before they board their plane for the final destination. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 8 May 84 p 7]

CSO: 3650/205

TEXT AND COMMENTARIES BY LEADERS ON 1985 ELECTORAL LAW

Editor's Foreword

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 p 97

[Text] On 22 December 1983, the National Assembly debated and passed a bill amending the constitution. At the same session, the National Assembly passed also a law on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members.

In the following we are publishing the introductory speech by Imre Katona, secretary to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the report of the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee, presented by University Professor Dr Gyorgy Antalfy, in the course of the debate on the bill amending the constitution. Furthermore, from the proceedings of the debate on the bill on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members: the introductory speech by Dr Imre Markoja, the minister of justice; the report of the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee, read by Dr Istvan Gajdocs, the committee's chairman and chairman of the Bacs-Kiskun Megye [County] Council; the speech by Dr Mihaly Korom, secretary to the MSZMP Central Committee and member of its Politburo; abstracts of other speeches in the debate; and Dr Imre Markoja's reply to the speeches.

This issue of our journal contains also the texts of Law No II of 1983 Amending the Constitution, and Law No III of 1983 on Electing Deputies of the National Assembly and Council Members.

Bill Amending Constitution Introduced

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 98-102

[Text of introductory speech by Imre Katona, secretary to the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic]

[Text] Amendment to the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic

I

As the fundamental law of our socialist state, the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic specifies the social system and lays down the regulations governing the state's organization and the citizens' rights and obligations.

Therefore it is an especially important event when the National Assembly has before it a bill to amend the constitution. The National Assembly enacted our present constitution in 1949. This was an achievement of historical importance that sanctioned the power of the people and set as its objective a society free of exploitation, and the construction of socialism.

The basic principles of our people's constitution are valid even today. Therefore we may say that our socialist system of government and law, and our political institutions are based on a firm and lasting fundamental law. Thanks to our socialist society's development, the time has again come to introduce several new organizational solutions in our state life. These changes are related also to the requirement of perfecting our socialist democracy. This requirement, I believe, is self-evident because the need recurs from time to time to intensify socialist democracy and to bring it in harmony with society's development.

To meet this requirement presupposes modifying our higher-level statutes and even the constitution itself. The present bill to amend the constitution serves this purpose. It provides for the following:

- Increased safeguards of constitutionality;
- The composition of the Council of Ministers;
- Ordinance-making authority binding citizens;
- The country's territorial subdivision;
- The electoral system.

1. In behalf of the Presidential Council and the government, allow me to present a brief preamble to the bill. I wish to speak first about the proposal concerning the safeguarding of constitutionality.

- a. Constitutionality is one of the most important principles of our social system. The assertion of this principle presupposes realizing in every area of life the objectives set forth in the constitution, but it also presupposes that our legislation and law enforcement are in agreement with the constitution's provisions.
- b. It is primarily the task of the National Assembly to ensure constitutional government. Within this authority, the National Assembly may rescind the state organs' provisions that violate the constitution or the interests of society.
- c. The Presidential Council also has an important task in overseeing the constitution's implementation. By virtue of its authority to oversee constitutionality, the Presidential Council may rescind or change any statutory provision, and administrative decision or measure that violates the constitution.
- d. In Hungary it is the duty of every state organ to observe, and to enforce within its own competence, the constitution and constitutional statutory regulations. The government oversees the assertion of constitutionality, and the protection of constitutionality is an important task also of the courts and public prosecutors.

There is constitutional government in our country, and this is a great achievement of our party and working people. But this does not relieve us of the

obligation to adopt further measures in the interest of asserting more completely the constitution's provisions. Therefore the further development is warranted of instruments that serve to safeguard constitutionality.

2. Primarily our present legislative practice warrants the increased protection of constitutionality. The normative system and method of management have become established and are asserting themselves increasingly in our state administration and economic management. This requires statutory regulations, directives and guidelines, and it also increases their number. In addition to the statements of principle and authoritative rulings of the Supreme Court, today also ministers and heads of central agencies issue, in addition to regulations, also directives, policy guidelines and announcements. These play an important role in the interpretation and enforcement of statutory regulations.

All this increases the danger that occasionally the harmony of legislation and law enforcement might break down. Experience indicates that the higher organs entrusted with safeguarding the constitutionality of legislation are not always informed in due time of such breakdowns, and this is why these organs sometimes are late in intervening or fail to intervene. Therefore we must make the constitutional-law safeguards of constitutionality more effective than up to now. Hence it is warranted to let also a newly established organ, the Council on Constitutional Law, oversee legislation from the viewpoint of constitutionality, but without limiting the authority and responsibility of the legislative organs or of the minister of justice who coordinates legislation.

3. The importance of the Council on Constitutional Law as a special organ warrants that it be regulated in the constitution itself. According to the proposal, the Council on Constitutional Law may examine the constitutionality of statutory regulations and legal guidelines, and it may suspend the implementation of the statutory regulations it finds unconstitutional. Naturally, it cannot do this in the case of regulations passed by the National Assembly or issued by the Presidential Council, because the Council on Constitutional Law is an organ of the National Assembly. The Council on Constitutional Law likewise cannot suspend the Supreme Court's standpoints of principle and authoritative decisions that are binding for the courts, because this would be interference in the administration of justice by the courts. The legislative bill regards the Council on Constitutional Law as a new independent organ that is elected by the National Assembly to perform special tasks, in accordance with its nature.

Thus the Council on Constitutional Law functions on the National Assembly's authority. This lends suitable social and political weight to the activity of the Council on Constitutional Law and simultaneously strengthens the directing and supervising role of the highest representative organ of state power.

4. Thus the legislative bill does not wish to introduce a system of the constitution's judicial review. It retains the principle that the National Assembly is the chief guardian of constitutionality, but exercises this authority with the help of the Council on Constitutional Law. It will be expedient to regulate by separate statute the details of this council's organization and operation.

II

1. Our system of control generally meets its requirements. Which of course does not mean that we should not adopt the measures necessary to perfect this system and make it more effective. In the spirit of this idea we are establishing the Council on Constitutional Law and are proposing certain changes in the regulations governing people's control. Under the present regulations, the chairman, deputy chairmen and members of the Central People's Control Commission are appointed by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, on the basis of authorization granted by the National Assembly. If the proposed modification is accepted, the chairman of the Central People's Control Commission will become a member of the Council of Ministers. This will lend more emphasis to his responsibility to the highest representative organs, and will increase the entire organization's political importance. At the same time, direction of the Central People's Control Commission by the Council of Ministers will continue to ensure more favorable conditions for the planning and coordination of state control, and for direct use of the audit results by the government.

2. The post of state secretary was established in 1968. At that time there were only five central agencies headed by state secretaries. With the law decree we enabled state secretaries to issue decrees, but with the restriction that their decrees as statutory regulations could not contain provisions that were directly binding for citizens. Thus at present a state secretary who heads a central agency may issue regulations that are binding only for state organs, enterprises, cooperatives and other economic organs.

Significant changes have occurred during the past decade in the methods of state administration. In the management of the economy and of society in general, the role of the already mentioned indirect methods of management has increased. In other words, management through statutory regulation has become more widespread also in the work of central agencies headed by state secretaries. Today there are 12 central agencies headed by state secretaries, including several organs with such tasks as those of the National Bureau of Water Conservation, or the National Office of Environmental Protection and Nature Conservation, for example, where it follows from the nature of the agencies' activity that the area requiring regulation affects not only legal entities but citizens as well, and that the regulations cannot be separated because this would result in doubling their volume.

In the wake of the reorganization of industry's management, the authority has been broadened also of the National Material and Price Office because it has assumed the functions of the price authority in the area under the branch management of the minister of industry. It has been assigned even more tasks whose administration necessitates the issuance of statutory regulations that are binding for citizens as well. With the abolition of the Ministry of Labor, the State Office of Wages and Labor Affairs has been established as a new central agency headed by a state secretary. An important task of this central agency is the issuance of wage and labor regulations, a significant proportion of which likewise affects the citizens' rights and obligations. Today the necessary harmony between the duties and ordinance-making authority of state secretaries who head central agencies no longer exists, and it is warranted to enable them to issue regulations that are binding for citizens as well.

Naturally, these regulations cannot be in conflict with the statutory regulations enacted by the National Assembly, Presidential Council or Council of Ministers, or with ministerial decrees. Of course, the principle must continue to apply that provisions affecting the citizens' rights and obligations should be formulated preferably in higher-level statutory regulations.

3. The constitution's chapter on councils defines the most important basic units within the system of councils. The political, economic and social developments of the past decade necessitate modernizing the system of councils as one of the most important areas of administration, in a way that will enhance socialist development. Hungary's villages and towns have undergone extensive social transformation. As of 1 January 1984, the number of towns has increased to 109. The towns are playing an ever-greater role in supplying the population within their area of attraction, and in administering its affairs. The ties that link the towns with the villages in their area of attraction have become broader and stronger. The present forms of administration and cooperation are no longer adequate for balanced and sound growth. Therefore we must introduce a new system of administration that will permit further progress.

The Law on Councils, enacted in 1971, already reflected these efforts. It abolished councils at the jaras [district] level and established jaras offices to handle the administrative tasks. During the decade that this organizational system was in force, the village and municipal councils continued to gain in strength, their role increased, and they undertook more and more economic, supply, administrative and organizational tasks. As a result of these rights, and in agreement with life's practical requirements, it has become possible to abolish jarases as administrative units. According to the bill to amend the constitution, therefore, the subdivision of the megyes into jarases will cease. This will provide favorable conditions for the self-governing character of the megye councils to unfold.

By increasing the independence of the village councils, direct megye supervision must eventually become the general rule. But until the conditions for this mature, the towns and the large villages with town status must cooperate in transmitting megye supervision. On the other hand, where the conditions already exist, it is feasible already now to include certain large villages in direct supervision by the megyes.

Responding also to the questions raised in the course of drafting this bill, we may state our conviction that the reorganization of public administration will increase the likelihood that after the constitution's amendment--i.e., as of 1 January 1984--the council and other state organs already functioning under the modernized system of administration will be able to perform better, more independently, and with a greater sense of responsibility for administering the citizens' affairs, the tasks they have undertaken for the construction of our socialist fatherland.

Discussing the judicial system, the constitution speaks also of jaras courts. In view of the fact that the jaras as an administrative unit will cease, we recommend abolishing the term jaras court, restating that justice in the Hungarian People's Republic is administered by the Supreme Court, the megye courts, and the local courts.

4. Our electoral system's basic principles that are laid down in the constitution have proven suitable. However, the respect of our citizens and the experience with the elections to date necessitate our electoral system's further development.

Since this question is on the agenda of the National Assembly's current session as a separate item, I will dwell on it only very briefly. It will be expedient to retain the system of single-member election districts as the basic method of election. We would continue to elect in this manner the overwhelming majority of the deputies of the National Assembly, and the members of the local councils. The members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the megye councils would be elected by the local councils, in the same way as now. A new feature in the legislative bill is that the citizens would elect a proportion of the deputies of the National Assembly on a national ticket. This provision means that about 30 to 35 public figures could run on the national ticket.

The system of single-member election districts is to be retained as the basic principle, but the legislative bill takes into consideration the important political interest that prominent leaders of our political and social life, and recognized outstanding personalities in our policy of alliance and in culture and sciences be elected to the National Assembly. However, the nature of these individuals' work far exceeds the representation of an election district's relatively few constituents. Since their activity is of national importance, it is warranted to make also their nomination and election national, and not tied to a single election district.

Not the constitution, but the Electoral Law regulates the present system of election districts. However, election in single-member election districts and on the national ticket is such an important principle that its inclusion in the constitution is warranted. Therefore the provision must be added to the constitution that deputies of the National Assembly are elected by election districts and on the national ticket; and the members of local councils, by election districts.

Regarding the recall of the members of representative organs, the constitution states that deputies of the National Assembly and council members are recalled by their constituents. In practice, however, this procedure cannot be applied to deputies of the National Assembly elected on the national ticket. According to the legislative bill, therefore, the aforementioned provision must be amended in the sense that the National Assembly will decide, on a proposal presented by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, to recall a deputy of the National Assembly who was elected on the national ticket. Finally, the legislative bill also provides that the amendments to the constitution will become effective as of 1 January 1984; and the new regulations governing elections, effective the day that the 1985 general elections will be announced.

With this I have summed up the amending proposals whose enactment will enable the constitution to serve more effectively the interests of our people and the realization of the objectives before us. I request the esteemed National Assembly to pass the legislative bill.

Committee Reports Amending Bill

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 103-105

[Report of the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee on the legislative bill to amend the constitution; presented by University Professor Dr Gyorgy Antalfy, the committee's secretary]

[Text] The Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee debated the legislative bill on 14 December 1983, after a briefing by the minister of justice. When considering the legislative bill, the committee started out from the fact that last year the National Assembly adopted a resolution specifically on legislation, in the interest of perfecting it. This resolution devoted special attention also to increasing democracy and professionalism in perfecting legislation. The more and more forceful assertion of the requirements laid down in the resolution will foreseeably enhance also the preservation of our legal system's stability, parallel with its necessary further development.

Our committee felt that the concept of the presented legislative bill on amending the constitution perceptibly utilizes these timely legislative objectives. Another way of characterizing the legislative bill would be to say that it calls for the modernization of our state life, for the further development of some of its constitutional institutions, in the spirit of socialist legality. The bill extends to legislation, law enforcement, the electoral system, and the organization of public administration as well. In other words, it affects interrelated basic institutions.

Each of these questions in itself is of outstanding sociopolitical importance, and it gains further emphasis from the fact that now we are considering them jointly. From this many-sided interrelation I will mention legislation first. It is common knowledge that much legislation is being enacted at present. We might say that legislation has accelerated, which obviously is linked also with the development of our economy, and thus the possibility of mistakes in regulation is actually greater, and this is certainly true also of the possibility of legal and professional uncertainty. For their elimination we find it warranted to develop--in addition to the existing methods that in general have proven suitable--also a new, special mechanism that is based consistently on constitutionality and legality. We believe that also the Council on Constitutional Law, which will oversee constitutionality and legality, will serve this purpose.

Up to now there has been no institution of this kind in our legal system. Comparable to the so-called "constitutional court," this institution has developed in Europe since the turn of the century, and its function is essentially the subsequent central control of legislation. Its outward forms differ practically by countries. These institutional forms have spread primarily in the non-socialist countries of Europe, but this does not preclude their viability and suitability under socialism as well.

In some of the socialist countries such state functions are taking shape, have developed or are already operating.

1. Naturally, the concept of establishing a Council on Constitutional Law did not emerge as the possibility of adopting certain foreign examples. The fact is that at present the lower-level statutory regulations are being issued at an accelerated rate. And it is also a fact that the curtailment of regulation by mechanical, administrative methods would not be expedient. On the other hand, there is a fundamental need to step up control of regulation from the viewpoint of legality and constitutionality, and the Council on Constitutional Law proposed in the legislative bill can be a suitable institution for this purpose. This is not a court, but--and this I wish to emphasize--a special organ of the National Assembly, one that would monitor the constitutionality of statutory regulations.

2. In view of the fact that in practice the various legal guidelines perform a function similar to that of statutory regulations, we find that it is warranted to extend this authority to include also so-called legal guidelines. But since the Supreme Court does not issue regulations and only enforces and interprets the statutory regulations that fall within its competence, it is also warranted to exclude the Supreme Court's policy standpoints and authoritative decisions from the authority of the Council on Constitutional Law. Our committee awaits with understandable interest the higher-level legal norm that will regulate also the operation of this new constitutional institution.

3. A problem that concerns legislation is that, according to the regulations now in force, state secretaries heading central agencies cannot issue statutory regulations that are binding for citizens.

This provision of the constitution stems from a time when ordinance-making authority within the system of state administration did not create any problem. Since then, however, our system of administration has undergone significant changes. For example, a state secretary is administering labor affairs, and another state secretary is solving environmental problems.

In these matters the separation of the regulations applicable to citizens, from the regulations applicable to economic organizations, could be achieved only mechanically. In other words, the organizational form of central state administration and the ordinance-making authority pertaining to this form are no longer in harmony. As the legislative bill points out, the proper solution to such cases is that the statutory regulation issued by a state secretary should apply in general to citizens as well, and not only to enterprises and institutions. Our committee shares this view.

4. Certain questions of terminology were raised when the committee debated the legislative bill, such as the terms "statutory regulation issued by a state secretary" and "local courts," but they were answered reassuringly during the discussion. Concerning state administration and the enforcement of statutory regulations, the committee deems it necessary to concur also with the proposal to enhance the constitutional-law status of the Central People's Control Commission. Thereby this peculiar form of control will gain also the legal recognition that its social significance merits.

5. A similar concensus emerged also on the questions of reorganizing and transforming our system of public administration, and modernizing our electoral

system. The constitution, very appropriately, does not contain the detailed solutions of these questions, but merely lays down the general principles and the framework. Taking also the foreseeable development into consideration, I wish to note that the quantitative and qualitative definition of the tasks of public administration will have to be investigated as a basic issue even more thoroughly than up to now, in the interest of curbing bureaucracy. Allow me to list the following questions:

- a. Can the tasks of public administration be solved efficiently only by means of state instruments?
- b. When state action is warranted, may only administrative and legal instruments come into consideration, or is the supplementary and substitute use of other state instruments also permissible?
- c. Today the most common form of society's organization is to assign the tasks of public administration to public authorities. But we should investigate whether the methods of supervision and organization are the most effective in the given case.

Considering also what has been said above, in behalf of our committee I recommend that the esteemed National Assembly pass the bill on amending the constitution.

#### Assembly Passes Constitutional Amendment

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 p 105

[Text] A two-thirds vote of all deputies is needed to amend the constitution. The president of the National Assembly establishes that the National Assembly has a quorum. He submits to a vote whether the National Assembly passes, in general and in its details, the legislative bill on amending the constitution. Those voting for the bill will do so by raising their hand. The president of the National Assembly establishes that the National Assembly has unanimously passed, in general and in its details, the legislative bill on amending the constitution.

#### Minister Introduces Electoral Bill

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 105-114

[Text of introductory speech by Dr Imre Markoja, minister of justice]

[Text] Legislative Bill on Electing Deputies of the National Assembly and Council Members

#### I

When I introduce, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, the legislative bill on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members, I do so in full awareness of this legislative act's outstanding political and legal importance. In support of this statement, allow me to refer in general to the fact that in every state the electoral system and the right to vote accurately reflect the prevailing social and economic conditions and are one of the basic

instruments through which political power is exercised. This is true also of socialist society where the electoral system and the right to vote are important vehicles for the realization of the working people's power.

In presenting the legislative bill's preamble, of course, mention must be made also of the specific aspirations that motivate our country and people. Their essence and basic objective can be summed up in that we are dedicated believers in realizing socialism's principles and building a socialist society; in other words, in ensuring as fully as possible, through the constant development of socialist democracy, the participation of the widest popular strata in shaping policy, administering public affairs and controlling public life.

If we look back on our postwar history and to the events of the past quarter century in particular, it is undeniable that the wide unfolding of socialist democracy has always been one of the most important policy objectives of our party and government. The party clearly expressed its intention to this effect also at its latest, twelfth, congress where it established--while recognizing the results of historical importance achieved so far--that in several areas the level of socialist democracy was not yet satisfactory, and further significant measures were needed to perfect democracy. Since then we have been working purposefully, within the party and the government, for the practical realization of this congress resolution.

Our efforts have been directed also toward creating a more open, frank, critical and hence a truly more democratic atmosphere, and also toward broadening the workers' democratic rights, reinforcing the system of guarantees for exercising these rights, and developing further the system of democratic forums, mainly by making more meaningful and effective the activity of the Patriotic People's Front, mass organizations and representative organs. For we felt that only jointly could these efforts produce the desired effect of having the widest strata of citizens identify with the cause of socialism and with the policy serving it, and be ready and willing to participate actively and with responsibility in the exercise of power and the management of public affairs.

Regrettably, our present world and our lives are not free of stresses and difficulties. Nowadays many people are asking themselves whether it is necessary and worthwhile in the present difficult situation to consider ever-newer reform concepts and to exert considerable effort for their realization. We are convinced that, Yes, it is worthwhile. Not only because the successful construction of socialism generally cannot be imagined without constant efforts to reform, but also because reform is the most important condition or guaranty for solving the problems as soon as possible. Thus it is no accident, rather a law-conforming process, that our party and government are continuously seeking for our entire society, and within it for the system of macroeconomic management and the system of political institutions, novel solutions that will enable them to achieve more readily our social-policy and economic-policy objectives.

The constitution's amendment, the electoral reform, the reorganization and modernization of public administration, the further development of people's control, and the macroeconomic management system's further improvement that is now on the agenda--they all belong among these efforts.

## II

1. Because of its outstanding political and legal importance, we drafted the presented legislative bill with special care, and in the course of this work we tried to maximally assert the requirement of democracy in drafting legislation. Although public and professional debate on the most important legislative bills has already become political practice in our country in recent decades, we may say without exaggeration that the drafting of the electoral bill evoked unprecedented public interest. This mass interest clearly showed that the intensification of socialist democracy has become more and more a continuously asserted essential element or requirement of our social and economic development.

2. As the comrades in the National Assembly very well know, the complete text of the legislative bill was published in several thousand copies; and the text of its most important provisions appeared in the press, in about 1.5 million copies. The National Council of the PPF, in cooperation with other voluntary organs, submitted the draft of the legislative bill to extensive national public debate. Nearly 25,000 comments and proposals were submitted in the debates before more than 1,300 forums attended by tens and thousands of citizens. We are pleased to acknowledge that these debates not only yielded valuable ideas to improve the electoral bill, but they also provided an opportunity for the participants to voice their views on all the issues that are now on the agenda as concepts or tasks to be solved, in conjunction with the development of our state life and socialist democracy.

We utilized the lessons of these extensive debates first of all in the introduced legislative bill. On the basis of the comments and proposals made by participants in the debates, we revised or modified many of the provisions in the legislative bill, and in adopting our final standpoint on the several alternative proposals in the bill we took into consideration the majority opinion that emerged from the debates.

Regarding the often very critical comments and proposals that go beyond the Electoral Law, I am able to report that their processing has begun, and their practical utilization we will regard as one of the most important tasks of the coming period. We will devote close attention particularly to studying the views and ideas that concern perfecting and making more meaningful the activity of the representative organs to be elected on the basis of the new Electoral Law--i.e., of the National Assembly and councils--and the further modernization and simplification of public administration.

On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I am able to promise that the government organs will strive to maximally utilize the lessons of the public debates that have taken place. Our decision to do so also proves our intention to make respect for democracy, its assertion and responsible exercise a living practical reality in our entire system of managing society.

3. As evident also from the preceding, socialist democracy permeates our entire social and economic system and is of great importance in the life of the state as well. This is expressed also in our constitution. Among its basic provisions the constitution states that our country, the Hungarian People's Republic, realizes the power of the working people. Besides participating in the

administration of public affairs at their workplace and place of residence, the workers of town and country exercise this power primarily through democratically elected deputies who are responsible to the people. Starting out from these provisions of the constitution, we have endeavored in recent years to formulate the tasks awaiting us in developing further the democracy of state life.

4. A principal direction of our tasks is to establish--by modernizing our electoral system and especially by making it more democratic--conditions enabling the representative organs of state power to perform their functions more effectively than up to now.

We all know very well that the system of electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members evolved gradually in our country, in harmony with society's development. The present regulations governing elections are contained in the Electoral Law of 1966, as modified and amended in 1970. The exploration, gathering, analysis and evaluation of the experience gained in the course of this law's practical implementation began already after the general elections of 1971. This work received further impetus after the 1975 and especially the 1980 elections. A review of this experience unambiguously shows that our electoral system has served essentially well to realize the power of the people and socialist national unity, and particularly to ensure that such outstandingly important forums for exercising socialist democracy as the National Assembly or the councils function truly in accord with the interests of their voters and answerably to them. However, the gained experience also directed our attention to the fact that we have not always been able to achieve completely and consistently the objectives laid down in the constitution and in the Electoral Law, and that shortcomings in political practice and in the statutory regulations relating to elections likewise contributed to this in some instances. The analytical work in conjunction with the electoral system's further development also revealed that our society's attained level of development and the construction of an advanced socialist society directly necessitate and make possible the wider unfolding than up to now of the elections' democratic and popular-front character.

5. The political and state organs responsible for drafting the electoral bill drew from this experience two conclusions that have been widely confirmed also in the public debates on the legislative bill.

a. One conclusion was that the proven principles and solutions of the regulations now in force had to be retained in the new legislative bill. Among them I would like to point out first of all the principle that PPF policy expressing national unity must remain the political basis of our electoral system. In domestic policy this means the program of building socialism; and in international relations it means adherence to the socialist countries' system of alliance, and commitment to the cause of peace and security. In addition, our electoral system must preserve the basic principles that have been entrenched in the constitution and laws with suitable guaranties, such as universal, equal and direct suffrage, and voting by ballot. For the pertinent provisions of our Electoral Law maximally satisfy the present and future needs and requirements of socialist democracy.

b. The other conclusion was that further progress and certain changes were warranted, as I have mentioned also earlier, in our attitude to elections and methods of conducting them, and in their statutory regulation as well.

### III

In the following I would like to briefly review the essence of the proposed changes.

1. I would like to discuss first the nomination of two or more candidates per election district. The regulations now in force already permit the nomination of two or more candidates per district in the elections for deputies of the National Assembly and council members. For example, the provision that any voter may propose anyone for nomination at a nominating meeting, and that a vote of one-third of those present is sufficient for the proposed person to become a candidate, wanted to encourage the nomination of two or more candidates. In practice, however, the opposite trend asserted itself. In the National Assembly elections there were 49 districts with two or more candidates in 1971, 34 districts in 1975, and only 15 districts in 1980. In the council elections there were still 3,000 election districts with two or more candidates in 1971, but in 1980 the number of such districts dropped below 1800.

There were several reasons for this diminishing trend, and they reinforced one another in their effect. Contributing factors in the development of this situation were the often inconsistent, politically hesitant, unnecessarily apprehensive, and perfunctorily statistical attitude and behavior of the organs that played the decisive role in preparing and conducting the elections and, as a result, also the citizens' diminished interest in consistently exercising their rights and availing themselves of their opportunities. Yet, it has indeed always been an essential element of our electoral system that citizens should be able to nominate from among their own ranks the most suitable candidate, and to elect this candidate by voting for him.

The new electoral bill has drawn from these undesirable phenomena the necessary conclusion when it wants to ensure also by legal means the nomination of two or more candidates in each election district, in the elections to the National Assembly and the local councils. Naturally, the nomination of two or more candidates increases the significance also of the nominating meetings. Even up to now we have been regarding the nominating meetings as the widest social forums for the preparation of the elections, where the voting citizens are able to discuss in a democratic environment national and local policies, and to decide who should be the candidates. This must be increasingly true in the future. The legislative bill strives to provide more favorable conditions for this as well.

The legislative bill's intent is first of all to give the voting citizens as much opportunity as possible to become thoroughly acquainted with the candidates and to choose them carefully. This intent can be enhanced by increasing the number of nominating meetings, as well as by the bill's novel provision that candidates for election to the National Assembly and local councils may explain their activity and ideas to their voters under otherwise equal conditions, up to the day before the elections, and the PPF committees may organize meetings for this purpose.

In conjunction with the nominating meetings, I would like to call attention also to the following provision that departs from the regulations now in force: "Residents of the election district, and representatives of the workers of the enterprises, cooperatives, offices and institutions in the election district may attend the nominating meetings." This formulation emerged from the crucible of public debates. On the one hand, it ensures full assertion of the principle of territorial representation. And on the other hand, it does not bar from attending the nominating meetings, and from proposing someone for nomination, even the collectives of the workplaces in the election district, since these collectives will necessarily be in close contact with the elected representative bodies and their members.

An important guaranty of the legislative bill is also the provision that, if more than one nominating meeting is held and the proposed person received a vote at the earlier nominating meeting, all the proposals presented at the earlier nominating meeting must be resubmitted to a vote at the subsequent nominating meeting. This is warranted because the outcome of the nominating meetings must reflect the entire election district's will regarding the persons of the candidates, and the candidates themselves must not suffer any disadvantage due to the subsequent nominating meeting's ignorance of what standpoint the previous nominating meeting adopted.

We may use the same adjectives to describe also the bill's provision that any citizen may file a protest against the way a nominating meeting has been conducted; the local election presidiums must continuously decide such protests and, if necessary, adopt appropriate measures to safeguard democracy and legality.

I would like to point out separately that the legislative bill increases the role of the Patriotic People's Front in the entire nomination process, in organizing and conducting the nomination meetings. This role gains decisive importance also from the legislative bill's provision that candidates, besides accepting their nomination, must also state their acceptance of the PPF program. In this context it should be emphasized that the nomination of two or more candidates per district cannot mean that we are giving the green light to candidates representing alternatives opposed to socialism and to the cause of international peace and security. But it certainly does mean that the Patriotic People's Front will support only candidates who will be able to realize this program according to the highest possible standards.

In the spirit of the legislative bill, we ask also the voters to express their support of our policies in the course of nominating and voting for the candidates, and at the same time to clearly elect the truly most suitable candidates to represent the interests of the entire population or of the collectives concerned.

2. Speaking of the introduced legislative bill's novel ideas, it is worth noting--specifically in conjunction with the general introduction of nominating two or more candidates per election district--that the bill enables the candidates who are not elected, but who received at least a fourth of the valid votes, to obtain mandates as alternate deputies of the National Assembly, respectively as alternate council members.

Aside from broadening the circle of persons active in public life, the introduction of this institution into our electoral system helps to dispel the regrettable widespread view that the candidates who are not elected to the National Assembly or local council are "failures." Moreover, the introduction of mandates for alternate deputies and alternate council members could have the added advantage of substantially reducing the number of by-elections, because the alternate deputy or alternate council member would automatically succeed the deputy or council member, without a by-election, when the election district's mandate becomes vacant. Thus by-elections would henceforth be necessary only in the election districts that do not have an alternate deputy of the National Assembly, respectively an alternate council member.

3. Analyzing further the legislative bill's intended changes, I feel obliged to advise the comrades in the National Assembly that the public debate on the bill met with general agreement our proposal to introduce a national ticket. According to this proposal, as Comrade Imre Katona has already mentioned, a proportion--about 10 percent--of the National Assembly's deputies would be nominated and elected on a national ticket, from among the outstanding personalities of our social life. The nomination of these personalities as candidates, on the basis of recommendations submitted by the political, social and common-interest organs belonging to the PPF, would be within the competence of the PPF National Council, but all citizens of the country would elect them by direct vote. Naturally, the rights and obligations of the deputies elected on the national ticket would be the same as those of the deputies elected in the single-member election districts. However, the National Assembly would decide about recalling these deputies, on the basis of the PPF National Committee's proposal.

On the basis of all this we believe that the provisions concerning the introduction of the national ticket are completely in accord with the democratic principles of our electoral system. The differences that will exist in the nomination and recall of deputies running on the national ticket, as compared with the deputies running in the single-member districts, necessarily follow from the nature of things. But here again we have strived to choose solutions that take far-reaching into consideration the aspects of democracy.

Undeniably, deputies elected in the single-member districts will be able to devote more attention to representing justifiable local interests. But the work that the deputies elected on the national ticket will be doing on behalf of the entire population--in close contact with the working masses--will be no less significant.

4. The essential changes that are to be made in the electoral system--thus the general practice of nominating two or more candidates per district, and the introduction of the national ticket--have made it necessary to change also the manner of voting. In future elections, each voter will get three ballots: one each to elect:

- The district's deputy to the National Assembly;
- The member of the local council; and
- The candidates running for the National Assembly on the national ticket.

One may vote only with the officials ballots, and for the candidates whose names are on the ballots.

- a. In a National Assembly election district the voter votes by leaving on the ballot the name of the candidate of his choice, and by crossing out the name or names of the one or more additional candidates for whom he does not wish to vote. Voting for the member of the local council takes place in the same manner. To vote for all the candidates on the national ticket, the voter makes no change on the ballot, seals it in the envelope and drops the envelope in the ballot box.
- b. If in a single-member election district the voter crosses out the names of all the candidates, the ballot counts as a valid vote against.
- c. However, a ballot is invalid if it is not possible to determine from it whom the voter voted for; if he has left on the ballot the names of more than one candidate, for example.
- d. If on the ballot for the national ticket the voter crosses out the names of only some of the candidates, this does not affect the validity of the ballot and merely reduces the number of votes for the candidates in question.

5. In the course of drafting the legislative bill, many comments and proposals were presented before various forums, including the forums of public debate, regarding the member villages of joint village councils. The essence of these views may be summed up in that the mergers were warranted from the viewpoint of improving the quality of public administration at the village level, but this had the undesirable effect of depriving a significant proportion of the villages--the member villages other than the ones where the joint village councils have their seat--of effective representation. In the absence of authority, and hence of prestige, the so-called groups of council members were unable to assume this function.

More than half of the rural population is living in villages that have joint village councils. This in itself warrants satisfying the social demand that the member villages be given greater independence and wider freedom of movement, while retaining the advantages of concentrating public administration.

The legislative bill enhances this by providing that the council member elected in a member village other than the one in which the joint village council has its seat simultaneously becomes a member of the village administration. Thus this provision of the legislative bill introduces the institution of village administrations in the member villages. And changes in the Law on Councils that are to become effective simultaneously will grant appropriate authority to the village administration, including its chairman who will thus become the state leader of the given member village.

Above I have referred to the fact that many of the speakers in the public debate on the legislative bill urged making the activity of the representative bodies more meaningful and better.

The efficient operation of these bodies depends on a number of factors.

- a. Such factors are particularly the following:  
--The election of the most suitable persons to these bodies;

--Investing these bodies with appropriate authority;  
--Accurate definition of their duties;  
--Suitable exercise of rights and performance of duties by the individual representative bodies and their members, and in general the availability of all the prerequisites for good work.

b. It is a known fact that the content of the representative bodies' work is influenced also by the number of their members. Too large a body becomes an unsuitable forum for debate and is unable to get anything done. Since one of our objectives is to reinforce in the future the working nature of the representative bodies, with the concurrence of public opinion we have reviewed the size of the representative bodies.

c. So far as the National Assembly is concerned, its size meets the realistic requirements, and we are proposing only one change: to increase the number of deputies by the 30 to 35 who are to be elected on the national ticket. The only reason for doing this is to avoid having to change significantly, because of the new provisions concerning the national ticket, the present proven subdivision into election districts.

d. In the case of the councils, however, we are proposing significant reductions in their size, by about 20 to 25 percent. According to the regulations now in force--which bear the imprints of the earlier view that the councils were also mass organizations--the upper limits on the number of council members are 100 in villages, 150 in towns and Budapest districts, and 201 for the Budapest Municipal Council.

As a rule, the number of council members actually elected has been close to these limits. But practical experience unambiguously shows that councils of this size are cumbersome and unable to operate effectively. This is why we are proposing in the legislative bill--in agreement with the views expressed in the public debates--to cut the size of the councils, but in a way that will take far-reaching into consideration the local conditions, the types of settlements, and the size of their populations.

6. The regulation of recall is another essential new feature of the legislative bill. It is common knowledge that in principle the election of a deputy or council member goes hand in hand with the possibility of recalling him. In Hungary, however, this principle has been asserted only rarely because, among other things, the procedures for recall are too complicated. Therefore the bill retains the present regulation that a deputy of the National Assembly or council member who is unable to fulfill his mandate or becomes unworthy of it may be recalled, but it contains the new provisions that also at least 10 percent of the voters concerned may introduce a recall proposal, and the proposal is decided by ballot. I have already mentioned the other essential change in the regulations on recall, concerning the recall of deputies elected on the national ticket.

7. A basic question of every electoral system is who has the right to vote. This eligibility to vote also determines who is eligible to run for public office. The struggle for universal and equal suffrage has determined for more than a century the activity of numerous political movements, but only under

socialism has it been possible to achieve this basic right in its entireness. Specifically in our country this means that in the last general election, held in 1980, there were 7.8 million eligible voters or more than three-fourths of Hungary's population of 10.7 million. Thus in the Hungarian People's Republic universal suffrage means that by law every adult citizen has the right to vote, regardless of sex, race, education or financial situation.

The legislative bill now asserts consistently the principle that disfranchisement presupposes a court sentence, except in the case of the insane. Since a citizen omitted from the register of voters may request relief from the court, according to the legislative bill the question of eligibility to vote, or of exclusion from the register of voters, is decided in the last resort by the court.

8. In conclusion I would like to point out that simplification also has been an important objective in reforming our electoral system. We have strived to achieve simplification partially by having in the future only one statute containing all the principles, and the substantive and procedural regulations pertaining to elections. And partially by simplifying the preparation and conduct of elections where this can be done without violating the guarantees of legality. These simplifications apply to the organization of elections and to election procedures as well.

We are convinced, and our conviction has been reaffirmed also by the views of the participants in the public debates, that the introduced legislative bill on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members, if we do everything possible to implement it consistently, will serve fruitfully the further unfolding of socialist democracy and thereby will also help us to solve more and more successfully the tasks of building a socialist society. On behalf of the Council of Minister, I request the National Assembly to debate and pass this legislative bill.

#### Committee Reports Electoral Bill

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 114-118

[Text of the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee report on the legislative bill on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members, presented by Dr Istvan Gajdoci, the committee's chairman]

[Text] Whoever receives a mandate, whether as a deputy of the National Assembly or as a member of the village council, is entrusted by the voters to represent them, and in exchange for this trust the deputy or council member must assume responsibility. It is good if this sense of responsibility is real and live, both nationally and locally, and in every phase of conduct in public life. This has been the approach and practice that the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judiciary Committee employed in actively debating the legislative bill and in presenting its report to the National Assembly. In the following I will attempt to faithfully convey the committee's other findings.

I feel obliged to note that in the debate a deputy, not a member of the committee, expressed regret that other committees did not have an opportunity to debate these two legislative bills, in view of their importance. In his opinion, the Administrative, Legal and Judiciary Committee should have taken into consideration the summary views of other committees as well. I mention this partially because this is what he said, and partially because this too illustrates the unprecedented interest that the two legislative bills deservedly evoked.

I

The committee unanimously found that the legislative bill [on electing deputies of the national assembly and council members] could be an epoch-making act of perfecting socialist democracy, one that builds on proven past practice and at the same time ensures the right to vote for nearly eight million people in a small country such as ours, in the firm conviction that they are sufficiently mature and able to exercise this right.

We are debating the enactment of a law whose progressive advantages we already are able to enjoy while implementing the resolution of the 12th party congress, and about which we may safely say that never before has a legislative bill been introduced in this House based on such public debate, including 25,000 comments and opinions. It might not be superfluous to add to all this that we are not seeking something new merely for its own sake, rather we are enacting into law the expansion of the rights and responsibilities of creative man who is coping with increasing requirements and is thereby developing. It is obvious that this statute will evoke wide international response. Our friends will certainly welcome it. And those who are not our friends will probably demand to know why, besides electing candidates, we are not offering also a choice of policy, between socialism and the nonsocialist road, for example.

Responding on behalf of the people and this body, there is only one answer we can give to this essential question of primary importance. Our policy embodies national unity, loyalty to the socialist system, and support of the cause of human progress. This is our road, there is no bargaining on these decisive principles, and we do not want and will not choose an alternative pleasing to the imperialists.

It will probably be of interest that the mandatory nature of, and the need for, two or more delegates per election district have gained acceptance in the public debates and in the committee as well. Remembering the old elections and also the indifference, when the second or third candidates ran out, now the consensus of the population and of the committee did not leave a back door for the single candidate per district.

At the same time the deputies also voiced views and comments that actually expressed concern for smooth practical implementation. One deputy, for example, said that a more auspicious time should have been chosen, when the international situation was brigther and the economy in an upswing. The majority opinion on this was that, regrettably, a brighter international situation did not depend entirely on us, but the activity triggered by the democratic aspirations formulated in the legislative bill would help to strengthen the economy. But there was also talk of the need to elect good deputies and council members, with a suitable proportion of experts among them, and to drop the deputies and

council members who were passive and lazy, or who proved unworthy of the trust placed in them.

Several speakers in the committee mentioned the most recent by-elections that were held according to the existing regulation, but with new intent and the addition of new elements. Yet, it must be admitted that the voter turnout was smaller, there were more invalid ballots, and the candidates listed first on the ballots had a perceptible advantage. Here the unambiguous requirement was that all this had to serve as a lesson for future election work.

These as well as other comments not listed proved that acceptance of the legislative bill was complete, and that the deputies mentioned the phenomena only to support the proper standpoint with arguments, and to prevent and avoid the difficulties and possible pitfalls of the new practice.

1. So far as the importance of the nominating meetings is concerned, practically every speaker regarded them--in the words of Deputy Edit Roder--as the most exciting forum. Deputies Jozsef Nagy, Laszlo Bartha, and Mrs Attila Toth agreed that equal chances could be created only with very serious and demanding political work. Even today, for example, about 500,000 people are living on detached farms in Hungary, and it cannot be said that they are too well informed. But even in our towns and villages there are numerous families who, when interviewed on essential political issues, naturally want peace and support the construction of socialism, but often are able to identify only the three top national leaders in Hungary.

2. Now, however, it will be necessary to vote for the better or the best of the two or more candidates for the local council or the National Assembly, and with at least some idea of who is who on the national ticket. This will hardly be possible without political enlightenment, mobilization, and appearance before the forums. In plain words, during the preparations for the elections we will have to reach every citizen, in word or in writing, with political agitation, in a friendly mood and seeking a consensus. It is likewise obvious that the nominating meetings will have to be better organized and planned than up to now; the media will have to provide wider coverage of the candidates; and the organized actions of strata, groups, plants and enterprises also will have to be taken into consideration so as to avoid surprises.

a. In their contributions to the committee debate, deputies Tibor Juhasz, Ferenc Nezval and Laszlo S. Hegedus wondered what sets of values should apply to nominations and elections. Because national policy, socialism, obviously did not offer any other alternative. But local policy could be more diverse. The candidates could support different alternatives, even alternatives planned locally. They could have different and specific ideas and concepts, that likewise offered a choice. And the question was also raised as to who would be nominated and elected, and why.

I interviewed an outstanding legal expert and asked him what characteristics he would look for in choosing between two hypothetical candidates. He replied that he would vote for the candidate he found more appealing and who had more power. Well, the committee found this answer too simplified; it favored deserved prestige, a role in public life, exemplary conduct at the workplace, and

then such subjective elements as good appearance, conviction, initiative, empathy and, as a part of the latter, modesty.

b. In the case of council members, special emphasis was placed on prestige, organizing ability, and close contact with the population. Specifically in conjunction with the personal requirements for politics, the question was considered as to which one of two candidates started with better prospects: the old one who has already gained prestige, and who often was forced to say No during the current plan cycle, but has nothing to be ashamed of and may even boast of his share in the achieved results; or the new candidate who starts with a clean slate, but is able to promise deliberately by relying realistically on socialism's law-conforming development. We believe that only practice will be able to answer such predictions and reflections, but it will hardly be possible to generalize the answer.

3. The members of the committee concur with and support the introduction of the national ticket, which Comrade Markoja has discussed in greater detail. There was some debate over the mode of recall, but it was settled with the acceptance of the legislative bill's spirit. The members of the committee also pointed out that voters would be expressing summarily their opinion of our policies by voting for the national ticket; that reporting to their constituents by the deputies elected on the national ticket was institutionalized in the sense that these deputies--considering also their office and prominence in public life--reported to the entire people through their everyday work; and that here the representation of the constituents' interest was tantamount to the universal representation of the people.

4. In conjunction with the development of public administration, an extensive debate has been in progress for some time on how to compensate for drawbacks of the joint village councils' member villages. Among the various measures, the debate in committee supported one in particular that is on the agenda, namely the role of establishing village administrations. Essentially two topics emerged in the debate. First, that today not even local policy can be imagined without a representative body, and this actually speaks for our democratic development. Thus a representative body is necessary. And if it is called the village administration, so be it. For today few people share the bitter memories of the old village administrations. In any event, the essential thing is that the village administration function properly, which in a socialist village is of course possible. The second requirement stems from the first one: that this representative body, even if it functions within the framework of the joint village council, have more say about the affairs of the member village. Besides organizing and promoting prompt administration, the most important task of the village administration is to develop a community that is able to retain its population, by offering youths a choice of occupations, including the establishment of civilized conditions for commuting, and by providing services tailored to the population's needs.

I have used the expression "tailored to the population's needs" because we obviously cannot build a theater in every village. But we can build a clubhouse and a good library. And the residents can even go to the theater in groups, on the bus of the enterprise or cooperative. Another task of the village administration is to create a good environment. This requires intellectuals who are

attached to the village, a healthy parochialism, and an end to turning inward. In other words, the village administration must be able to mobilize the population, by setting sensible objectives, making residents directly interested, organizing them efficiently, and appreciating voluntary work. The solution of these tasks can provide a vitality that can ensure the survival and even the prosperity of most small settlements.

I wish to add merely in parentheses that, besides the efforts of the village administrations, also the support of the villages in which the joint village councils have their seats, and of the megyes and central agencies will not be superfluous.

The committee found--deputies Tibor Juhasz, Ferenc Nezval and Edit Roder spoke of this--that not only the substantive tasks in conjunction with the elections but also the technical problems of holding them were novel ones. In the stage of the elections' political preparation, therefore, it will be necessary to speak before the various forums, and to write in the press, about how the citizen should vote when electing his council member or deputy, and how he should vote for the candidates on the national ticket, because this will require an entirely different practice. It would not be good if even a single honest citizen who supports our policies were to cast an invalid ballot due to ignorance, and we have no right to let him do so.

6. Several deputies--Pal Matai, Mrs Attila Toth and Kalman Szabo--mentioned the factor of time, the amount of time available. The entire committee felt that the 60 days for the preparation of elections were not enough because it would be necessary to nominate candidates, persuade them to run, and provide publicity for them. And it should be remembered that in the next elections we will be using the new electoral system for the first time. Furthermore, it is difficult to predict how many times the nominating meetings, and even the elections, will have to be repeated, and how much time this will require. In this situation we could do two things. Either we switch immediately after the political decision to the stage of preparing the elections, relying on close national unity and the force of the policy objectives. Or we catch our breath and risk running out of time--considering also the summer work peak in agriculture--in which case we could use the extension allowed by the constitution. Incidentally, that would still be better than to extract solutions by force within the specified time limit, in view of the shortage of time.

In our opinion, the 90 days that the committee recommends in its report for the preparation of the elections are satisfactory and sufficient.

7. Finally, both the opening address and the contributions to the debate mentioned that the present legislative bill regulated elections and established the conditions for them. However, the legislative bill will achieve its purpose only if the voters give mandates to deputies and council members who are able to represent them effectively; and if it is at least as important for the voters to ensure the meaningful functioning of the representative bodies of state power, by defining accurately their authority and powers, and primarily by electing deputies and council members who can fulfill without failure the functions of these representative bodies.

By making the substantive work of the representative bodies more democratic to this end, I believe, it is realistic to expect that we will build, in agreement with the requirements of our people, a new step in the planned and expected development of our political principles, the statutes implementing them, and socialist democracy.

Conveying these ideas, I wish to report that the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee concurs with and supports the legislative bill on electing deputies of the National Assembly and council members, together with the attached report containing modifications, and submits the bill to the National Assembly for debate and passage.

#### Mrs Istvan Bibok's Speech

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 118-119

[Summary of Mrs Istvan Bibok's speech in the National Assembly debate on the legislative bill on electing deputies and council members]

[Text] In her speech Mrs Istvan Bibok (Csongrad Megye), a worker of the Mora-halma Voros Oktober Agricultural Cooperative, praised the bill's extensive public debate and established that few legislative bills had been preceded by such debates. And this was nothing other than a reflection of the public will. The bill had been the subject of lively debate also in her native Csongrad Megye. The constituencies had been pleased to hear that deputies and council members would be elected in the future on the basis of the views and proposals that emerged from the debate.

She then spoke of the great public interest that the debate on the bill's draft had evoked, in spite of the current foreign and domestic economic problems. The bill had become a topic of discussion not only in the larger settlements and the plants, but also in the small and large villages, and even among the people living on detached farms. In Szeged Jaras, her election district, for example, even people who previously had never done so had spoken and expressed their opinions in the debate. She felt that the broad public debates on the draft of this bill clearly enhanced the development of our state life and strengthened socialist democracy. The deputy recalled the circumstances under which she had been elected in 1975. In the 1975 elections, two candidates had been nominated in a few of the election districts. Hers too had been such a district. This was already her second term of office, and more than half of her constituents were agricultural workers living on detached farms.

Even today she vividly remembered the circumstances in 1975, the nomination of two candidates, the preparations for the election, and every minute of the day of the election.

She went on to speak about the voluntary and mass organizations' increased role in the Electoral Law's implementation and in political agitation, in conjunction with assessing the candidates and with shaping public opinion. Suitable political agitation would bring about that the candidate who came in second would not be regarded as the loser, even though he had not come in first in the race among the best. She regarded as one of the most important tasks to make both the candidates and the voters understand this.

Learning from her own experience, the deputy advised candidates to thoroughly prepare for the nominating meetings, and to take note of and understand the importance of both the big and small problems called to their attention. Candidates should avail themselves of every opportunity to meet and exchange views with the voters. In the discussions they should demonstrate their knowledge of both local and national problems and should indicate how they intended to serve in office.

Again on the basis of her own experience, she pointed out that since most of her constituents were living and farming on detached farms, it was very difficult to brief them on what was happening in the National Assembly, and to represent their concerns and problems in the appropriate places.

In conclusion she spoke of the living conditions and problems of the people on detached farms. In this context she did not regard as very fortunate Section 24, Paragraph 2, of the bill; it required at least 600 voters per precinct. The retention of this provision would hardly be possible in small villages with large areas of detached farms.

#### Dr Mihaly Korom's Speech

[Text of a speech by Dr Mihaly Korom, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, a member of the Politburo, and a deputy from Bacs-Kiskun Megye, in the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill]

[Text] In the course of its activity, the MSZMP is devoting special attention to our society's political institutions. The 12th MSZMP Congress regarded the strengthening of their democratic functioning as one of our most important tasks. In the wake of the congress resolutions, in recent years the highest bodies within our party and state--including also the National Assembly--repeatedly discussed various parts of this range of subjects; at this session of the National Assembly, for example, the establishment of the Council on Constitutional Law, the expansion of the role of people's control, and the modernization of public administration.

The legislative bill we are considering also belongs in this series. The development and intensification of our state life and social democracy are a longer-range program and a requirement that stems from the very life of our system.

Historical experience shows that the efficient functioning of state organs and socialist democracy's institutions greatly enhances the power of the working people and the realization of its objectives. We have reached a stage of our development in which the further tasks of building a socialist society can be solved only by releasing on a larger scale than up to now the creative energies latent in the people. To a large extent this depends on the democracy of public life, on the workers' creative activity, and on their being aware that they too are helping to shape their own future and to adopt the decisions affecting them.

#### I

Elections within our society have always been events of outstanding political importance. The National Assembly and the councils are basic institutions of

our democratic system of government. They reflect the class and stratum relations within our society, the cooperation between Communists and nonmembers, and the national unity forged to achieve socialist objectives. The citizens are participating in the responsible administration of the affairs of the nation and of their immediate place of residence, in the management of society, primarily through their elected representatives. The elections are a movement that affects the country's entire adult population. Millions attend the nominating and election meetings, and hundreds and thousands express their opinion. Nearly eight million people decide who the candidates should be and vote on the program presented by the PPF. The elections provide an opportunity for the broadest survey of society's acceptance of our policies, to gage the public's opinion regarding our objectives, and to mobilize honest citizens for the solution of the tasks confronting our society.

By virtue of its leading role within society, the MSZMP is devoting close attention to the proper functioning of the representative bodies among our political institutions. It goes hand in hand with the MSZMP's mission to see to it that the functioning of our representative bodies is in accord with the social conditions in our country, and that it expresses the real needs of our socialist public life, the requirements and demands of today and tomorrow. This intent has become a common cause. It has met with general agreement and support in the wide public debate on the draft of the legislative bill and has been formulated also in the standpoint that the PPF National Council sent to the MSZMP Central Committee.

In developing our system of political institutions we continue to regard as our important task the consistent assertion of our proven basic principles and making the content of the existing framework even more meaningful. At the same time, anticipating the new demands, we are proposing also the necessary changes.

1. The provisions of the Electoral Law now in force are serving well our socialist objectives. Consequently, also the present legislative bill incorporates all the principles whose justification has been proven in practice. Among them I would like to single out the following:

- The popular-front nature of the elections;
- Individual election districts as the basic form; and
- The citizens' right to nominate and elect directly.

At the same time, on the basis of experience we have come to the conclusion that the conditions are ripe for developing further the system of electing deputies and council members, and for increasing the citizens' active participation in the most important phases of the elections.

Thus the legislative bill does not contain radical changes, rather it is based on the principle of continuity and gradualism. Individually and in their sum, the presented proposals are nonetheless important. I will discuss them briefly in the following.

2. a. Among the new proposals I too will single out first the general, as opposed to the present possible, nomination of two or more candidates. This is

warranted mostly by the fact that while the institutions and substantive features of socialist democracy developed further in numerous areas of our society during the past decade, the elections in many places have narrowed to the act of casting the ballot. Balloting itself naturally has its own social significance because the citizens' votes express also their opinion of our policy.

Over and above the assertion of the generally accepted policy, to the citizens it is also not indifferent who formulates, represents and implements this policy. Thus the general nomination of two or more candidates institutionally guarantees and realizes in practice the opportunity to express personal confidence. In this way the voters are able to elect to the representative bodies those whom they trust the most, and in whose person they see a guaranty that national and local matters will be managed well, and the interests of small and large communities will be best represented. For this very reason it is becoming more important that the voters be able to get to know the candidates and to monitor their activity. And at the same time there is also the increasing requirement that also the candidates become better acquainted with their election districts. This is the real meaning of making general the practice of nominating two or more candidates per election district. I wish to note that several other socialist countries have adopted a similar practice.

b. In comparison with the present situation, making the nomination of two or more candidates general also requires that we modify our views. One cannot accept, for example, the view that the voters allegedly do not need a second or third candidate. The experience to date with so-called "multiple-candidate" election districts does not confirm this view. Our enemies, too, are aware that making the nomination of two or more candidates general will represent progress, but they--judging things from their own point of view--would like to see each of the two or more candidates supporting a different political direction, competing with one another. Naturally, this is not the solution we have in mind. On the basis of our nearly 40-year-old socialist development, to us this would be an unacceptable solution.

c. The legislative bill states that the candidates, when accepting their nomination, must also express their agreement with the election program of the Patriotic People's Front, which is also a program of national collaboration. But it is the voters' sovereign right to decide whom they will accept as candidates, and they choose by secret ballot the candidate who gets the mandate.

d. Historically the situation in Hungary developed so that we have a one-party system. Here there is and will be no room for candidates opposed to socialism, because the political maturity of our working people prevents any such attempt. Experience shows that building a new society has become a cause of the entire people. The Communists and the nonpartisans, people of different ideologies, the Hungarians and national minorities are forging an ever-stronger national unity and working together for the realization of our socialist objectives. It will soon be 40 years that we cast off the yoke of fascism and of the old system, took over the shaping of our own future and began to build a socialist country for ourselves.

3. The enactment of the institution of alternate deputies and alternate council members follows from making the nomination of two or more candidates per

election district the general rule. We are convinced that this will make the running of more than one candidate per election district easier. For the candidates this ensures society's respect even when they do not come in first. Since the candidates start with equal chances, the contest is not decided in advance. At the same time the individual collectives and our people benefit considerably from the fact that the alternate deputies and council members increase the number of responsible public figures ready and willing to act.

4. Our present electoral system is based on single-member election districts. The legislative bill retains them, on the basis of the essentially good experience with them to date. However, the exclusiveness of a system of single-member election districts harbors also certain contradictions. The legislative bill proposes to resolve them by providing for the institutionalization of a national ticket, in the specified manner and to the specified extent. Since several speakers today have already pointed this out in various contexts, I believe that it will be unnecessary to explain the importance of including among the deputies of our highest representative and legislative body of state power also the leaders of our political and social life, the nonpartisan representatives of our policy of alliance, and the nationally known and respected outstanding cultural and scientific personalities and church leaders. Incidentally, there are such personalities among our deputies even now. But they are nominated and elected in single-member election districts. However, the nature of their work and the scope of their activity far exceed their election districts and are of national significance. Therefore it will be warranted to elect them on the national ticket.

## II

I would like to dwell briefly also on the international and domestic conditions under which this legislative bill is being introduced. The international political and military situation has become very tense at present. The start of the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Europe cannot be regarded anything but a serious threat to peace. It again reveals the blindness of American imperialism's extreme circles and their allies, their obsessed anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism, and their policy of striving for military superiority. Naturally, the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community cannot view all this with arms folded, and they are being forced to adopt suitable countermeasures. We are convinced that every dispute in international politics can be settled through negotiations. A just settlement can and must be sought at the conference table, not on the battlefield.

We likewise firmly believe and know that the wheels of history cannot be turned back, and that a policy of strength cannot lead to anything good. While we watch with concern the events taking place in the world, we express also by our work and behavior that we will do everything possible to protect peace and the achievements of socialism, in close alliance with the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

1. The country's political stability lends weight to the voice of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our working people greatly appreciate the balanced political atmosphere in which we are living and working, in spite of the external and domestic problems. We are aware that further efforts will be needed in all areas of our lives to overcome the difficulties. And we realize that we

all must do more to achieve the socialist objectives formulated at the 22d MSZMP Congress.

2. We believe it is of fundamental importance that party members and nonmembers continue to work in mutual understanding for the further prosperity of our socialist country. The cause of socialism will be advanced, on our behalf and to our benefit, through creative and disciplined work and honest effort.

3. Enactment of the new law governing the election of the National Assembly's deputies and council members will be an important act that will enhance the further intensification and unfolding of socialist democracy. It will create favorable conditions for increasing the citizens' activity. However, the realization of this possibility will require responsible and comprehensive political work from us all. We must continue consistently along our present road of building socialism even under the more difficult conditions caused by the tense international situation.

We are convinced that the passage and practical implementation of the new Electoral Law will be a new important stage in strengthening the unity and collaboration of our people. On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and myself, therefore, I recommend that the esteemed National Assembly pass this bill.

#### Dr Rezso Bognar's Speech

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 123-125

[Summary of a speech by Dr Rezso Bognar, a deputy from Hajdu-Bihar Megye and professor of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen, in the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill]

[Text] Dr Rezso Bognar, a deputy from Hajdu-Bihar Megye and professor of Lajos Kossuth University, began his speech by referring to Section 19, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. It states that the National Assembly is the supreme representative organ of state power, i.e., the country's largest and highest elected body. The National Assembly exercises all the rights that stem from the sovereignty of the people and ensures constitutional government. According to Sections 42 and 43, there are councils in the capital, megyes, towns and villages. These councils must represent the population's interests and realize within their own areas the self-government of the working people.

From all this it followed, said the representative, that the development and modernization of the work of the National Assembly and of the councils were a particularly important national issue. Hence it was necessary to elect in the most suitable manner the deputies and council members best qualified not only to perform the responsible work of the National Assembly and councils, but also to improve it continuously. They had to represent befittingly the interests of the working people, their constituents, and of the Hungarian nation and country. Therefore he too felt that the law on the election of deputies and council members had to be amended.

The deputy emphasized that he regarded the introduced legislative bill as very good, unambiguous and timely.

He recalled his impressions of the public debates organized in Hajdu-Bihar Megye. There the PPF organized 129 public debates, at which a total of 975 comments and opinions were presented regarding the draft of the legislative bill. The keen public interest was general: the social classes and strata, youths and the elderly, party members and nonmembers--they all participated in the public debates.

He called special attention to the interest of intellectuals and their positive contributions to the debate on the bill's draft. In our democratic system of government that was building socialism, we wanted to further develop popular representation in the legal institution where it could truly be perfected. This legal institution was our electoral system. In every country the electoral system was closely linked to the system of representation.

According to the speaker, if we truly wanted to develop socialist democracy, then the electoral system was one of its key issues. We obviously wanted to perfect it in a way that would express as completely as possible the will of the voters, of the entire working people.

In his opinion, the political and social conditions for enacting a new Electoral Law were ensured. If we were capable, as we had to be, of constant and continuous reform in the economic sphere, then we had to achieve this also in our political system's basic institutions, in our system of representation and electoral system.

He went on to discuss nomination as the most sensitive and most responsible act of the electoral system. This was the first step toward becoming a member of a representative body. Not even our present Electoral Law attached conditions to nomination such as a bond or the collection of signatures, and no conditions would be set in the future. The present Electoral Law likewise did not set any political requirement, and there was none in the legislative bill under consideration.

What was new in conjunction with nominations was that the present possibility would become an obligation, or more accurately a commitment. The deputy quoted from the preamble to the legislative bill: "Socialist national unity is reflected in the provision that the candidates for the National Assembly or the local councils must declare, in addition to accepting their candidacy, also their support of the PPF program."

Nomination required very careful preparation, but the speaker felt that there would be sufficient time for this until 1985. He then spoke of the questions raised at the meeting of the group of deputies from his megye, primarily in conjunction with nominations. In his opinion, there could be two or three nominating meetings per deputy, which meant that at least 1000 to 1200 voters would express their view. At the same time, 20,000 to 25,000 voters would be casting their votes for the individual candidates for the National Assembly. From this simple fact it followed that nominations would require very careful preparation. The nominations and the nomination of two or more candidates per election district would not only make the elections more democratic but would also increase the voters' responsibility severalfold.

In Hajdu-Bihar Megye there already had been two candidates in some of the election districts during the last election. The experience had been favorable. He was convinced that the nomination of two or more candidates would not be perfunctory, and thus democracy could truly be broadened by restoring the institution of alternate deputies and alternate council members.

The deputy expressed some misgivings in conjunction with nominations and deplored the absence of the institution of withdrawal. Pursuant to Section 45, Paragraph 2, of the legislative bill, candidates had to declare that they supported the PPF program and accepted their candidacy. However, a longer period of time would elapse from the nominating meeting to election day, and a situation could arise--especially in the case of candidates running for the local councils--such that the candidate, having accepted his candidacy, might want to withdraw and not run in the election, for personal or family reasons, or in favor of a fellow candidate. The deputy felt that the right to withdraw, or to resign after the acceptance of a nomination, should be ensured and also incorporated in the law.

He therefore proposed for consideration, in agreement with Section 46, Paragraph 4, that candidates be allowed to exercise their right to withdraw before the day their names and occupations are made public, or to resign thereafter.

#### Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi's Speech

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 125-126

[Summary of a speech by Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi, a deputy from Baranya Megye and deputy chairman of the PPF National Council, in the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill]

[Text] Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi, a deputy from Baranya Megye and deputy chairman of the PPF National Council, emphasized in her speech the justification and timeliness of the legislative bill to perfect our electoral system. She had been able to follow the comprehensive analyses and the wide public debates that preceded the drafting of the bill. In her experience, the majority view everywhere clearly favored broadening the democracy of the election process, and giving the voters more opportunity than heretofore to actively elect and choose the representatives to the representative organs. In her opinion, the social and political conditions for meeting this requirement were ensured. In our country, socialist national unity and active social collaboration had been strengthened in hard work for our common prosperity, on the basis of our socialist development. The political leadership of our country, the party and government, could safely rely on the citizens' support even under the present more complex international situation and economic conditions. Naturally, the political leadership relied on this support during the preparation of decisions and their adoption as well.

At the present level of society's development and in the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the 12th party congress, the MSZMP Central Committee was justifiably urging the further broadening of democracy, and had justifiably proposed also the further development of our electoral system. It was an urgent duty of our political institutions to enrich direct and indirect democracy's

set of instruments. And one of our essential tasks even within this was to enhance the more effective functioning of the representative organs and to develop an election process containing more democratic elements than the preceding one.

Next, while admitting the timeliness of the introduced legislative bill, the deputy felt it her duty to note that the Electoral Law now in force had served well the cause for which it had been enacted. She recalled from personal experience some events of the past two elections and drew from them certain conclusions. In her opinion, the 1975 and 1980 elections had taken place in a spirit of mutual trust and unity of action between the party and the popular masses. The voters had supported the PPF's election program expressing the interests of the entire nation. The deputies and council members had gained real confidence. Most of them had discharged their mandates with responsibility. She welcomed also for these reasons that the bill retained the proven elements of the law now in force, while it naturally took into consideration also the increasing requirements. She approved and regarded as decisive that elections would continue to be held in the spirit of PPF policy reflecting national unity. It was clear from both the preamble and the provisions of the bill that its authors were relying, in the political sense of this word, on the PPF nature of the elections, and on responsible cooperation in the election process of the PPF movement and of its organs, social forces, voluntary and mass organizations.

In conclusion she dwelt on some questions of the mandatory nomination of two or more candidates per election district, which also the bill's preamble termed its most important new provision. She agreed that differences of behavior or approach were the cause of the distorted views that regarded the candidates with fewer votes as failures, or at least as persons under a shadow. The legislative bill's authors were seeking a solution to alleviate the consequences of such phenomena, by introducing a system of alternate deputies and alternate council members. The final solution, however, was in the general adoption of democratic thinking. This could be enhanced also by strengthening democratic government.

The deputy felt that everyone had to do more to change public mentality. In spite of the problems, or rather in full awareness of them, she welcomed that the bill guaranteed voters a choice of candidates. At the same time, she noted, the candidates accepted at the nominating meetings had to be given equal opportunity to explain the objectives they wished to pursue if they were elected. She considered the guaranteeing of equal opportunity warranted. She brought up nonetheless, not as a proposal to amend the text but perhaps as a question, what the objectives and variants stemming from personal concepts could contain, and how they were linked to the election program or to the possibilities of the current planning cycle. The linkage to the election program had to be unambiguous; it was obvious that there could be no alternatives in the political program.

Despite the definite answer, one side of the question still remained open: how did the candidates' possibly different conceptions relate to the local developmental, investment and modernization plans and concepts, and were their conceptions realistic. Voters expected not only their council members but also their

deputies to concern themselves with the affairs and problems of the election districts. Most of the problems were related to issues that required appropriations. The deputies did not have appropriations at their disposal and therefore could not make promises that would be impossible to fulfill.

The deputy approved also of making mandatory the nomination of two or more candidates, and of the national ticket's introduction as well. Furthermore, she concurred with the adoption of all the new elements contained in the bill. She regarded as significant progress that the council members elected in a member village to the joint village council were being given also a separate common-interest role also as the village administration.

#### Mrs Erno Simon's Speech

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 126-128

[Summary of a speech by Mrs Erno Simon, a deputy from Somogy Megye and a factory worker of the Cotton Printing Industry Enterprise, in the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill]

[Text] Mrs Erno Simon, a deputy from Somogy Megye and a factory worker of the Cotton Printing Industry Enterprise, began by saying that participation in the public debate on the legislative bill's draft had meant a busy schedule for her and many fellow deputies in recent months. As evident from the summations and her own experience, a domestic political issue had not stirred so many people in a long time. She regarded this as proof that the reserves of the citizens' activity were inexhaustible. It was possible and necessary to rely on the constructive opinion of the people regarding every issue, particularly in matters pertaining to socialist democracy and affecting a wide circle of citizens. The favorable experience with the public debate strengthened her belief that every legislative bill affecting a wide circle of citizens ought to be introduced on the basis of extensive public debate. She proposed that in the future similar legislative bills be debated in committee not only by the Administrative, Legal and Judiciary Committee but by the other committees of the National Assembly as well.

In the next part of her speech, to some extent for personal reasons, she dwelt on the proposal to nominate two or more candidates per election district. In the preceding election, she herself ran in an election district where there were two candidates. She recalled the exciting hours until the returns were in. Even a well-prepared student, she noted, felt anxiety before an exam. Candidates running for the National Assembly or local councils awaited the election returns with similar anxiety, because the voters--each one a teacher--graded with their votes the candidates' performance in public life, their behavior and personal traits, ranking them first or second.

Both as a deputy and a factory worker, therefore, she encouraged every candidate running in an election district with two or more candidates, on the basis of this bill's provisions. They should accept the honor of a nomination, because it was no small achievement to run as a candidate of the PPF. This already meant that the candidate was known in the precinct and was considered suitable to pass to the next grade.

The election would decide the outcome of the contest. And if the scales tipped in favor of the other candidate, the candidates coming in second or third should accept the public's decision and continue to work diligently.

The deputy then spoke of the village administrations to be established in the member villages of joint village councils. She noted that the overwhelming majority of the participants in the public debate had agreed with this proposal but had questioned calling them village administrations. Several participants had expressed the opinion that in small villages the council-member groups had already been performing a similar function, but without authority and material resources. Even if the name "village administration" was retained, in amending the Law on Councils it would be necessary to ensure not only the creation of a new form, but also the matching of the responsibility with appropriate authority and financial resources.

In conjunction with the duties of the alternate deputies and alternate council members after the elections, the deputy proposed making use of the alternate deputies in the committees of the megye council, PPF and other voluntary organizations. The alternate members of the village and municipal councils should be assigned tasks within the local voluntary organizations. This is the only way she could imagine that the candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local councils who had received a certain number of votes would be able to actively participate in administering the affairs of their megye or place of residence, even when they were not called upon to discharge their mandates.

In conclusion the deputy mentioned another idea that, in her opinion, confirmed the justification of nominating more than one candidate per election district. Multiple nominations increased the responsibility of the elected deputies and council members. They had to work harder and maintain closer contact with their constituents, because the entire term of office meant preparing for the next election. It was possible to prove whether the candidates had been worthy of their constituents' trust.

The national ticket's introduction, she believed, provided in every election district an opportunity for the voters to nominate and elect the most suitable and best qualified of the local residents. Most important was the candidate's ability to maintain the best possible relations with the voters who, respectively, nominated and elected him. Today the voters were already demanding that their elected representative, whether a deputy of the National Assembly or a council member, be always available and that he live and work among them.

#### Dr Imre Pozsgay's Speech

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 128-129

[Summary of a speech by Dr Imre Pozsgay, a deputy from Budapest and the secretary general of the PPF National Council, in the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill]

[Text] Dr Imre Pozsgay, a deputy from Budapest and the secretary general of the PPF Central Council, began by referring to the extensive and very effective

public debate whose test the legislative bill had passed. According to the experience within the PPF movement, cooperation on drafting the legislative bill had been excellent with the Ministry of Justice and other government organs that had been preparing this legislation professionally and in a politically substantiated manner.

Among the lessons of the public debate on the legislative bill's draft, he wished to call the National Assembly's attention to some of the experience gained in the PPF movement, and to some of the interrelations elucidated there. First of all he mentioned the fact that in the public debate a very significant and active mass of people had undertaken to cooperate on the preparation of this legislation, and that practically every forum without exception had spoken with appreciation of the party's initiative. He noted that it had been emphasized, rather than kept quiet, that the political initiative to revise the Electoral Law had come from the party congress and the Central Committee. This was politically significant because also citizens outside the party had confirmed the existence of this initiative and guiding role within Hungarian society, and had expressed the desire to retain it in the future as well.

In conjunction with the political lessons of the public debate, he spoke of the important factor that the public debate had served to strengthen socialist national unity. The PPF National Council's secretary general emphasized that within Hungarian society there was no social group that did not accept, in questions of principle pertaining to socialist national unity, the basic principles of the consensus on which our socialist system was built.

In terms of importance, it was one thing to hear this from Communists, and another thing to hear it from nonmembers. But the fact was truly important in itself that there was unity on this question in the country, within entire society. Using a particular expression, he said that the social contract forged during the past quarter century was in effect; society was supporting it and wanted to maintain it.

Next the deputy spoke of what socialism's acceptance meant and mentioned separately an important aspect of this acceptance, namely the fact that people regarded the socialist system and socialist society as expressions of national identity. It was interesting that in practically every public debate these two ideas had been linked together, although perhaps not in these exact words. And what concerned the National Assembly, and of course the other political forums as well, was that many nonmembers had spoken out also on the interpretation of the party's leading role as the other underlying principle of unity, and they had contributed significant ideas to the social experience gained here.

Next the deputy spoke of how the new Electoral Law, if passed by the National Assembly, would further strengthen political stability in the country. He pointed out that closer unity could be expected after the very lively public debates. He then noted that he considered as essential and important the expansion of local self-government. This might create problems of supervision, but the increase in the number of responsible citizens and collectives in the country would enhance political stability.

In the speaker's opinion, deciding might be complicated and difficult, but the essential thing was to provide that much more support for implementation. And concerning the question of whether our people were at all suitable to build democracy further--for such questions, too, had been raised--the answer, with reference to historical precedent and many other things, was that our institutions had to be further clarified to ensure the necessary political support for our decisions.

Discussing representation, the deputy argued that the representatives who enjoyed the voters' confidence and fulfilled the wonderful office of council member or deputy might do well to stop time and again to ponder just what their mandate meant. For one thing, the mandate did not apply to the single day, moment and mood when the deputy was elected, but to the process of his activity during an entire term of office.

The mandate likewise did not call for issuing a report card on the people's participation in, and their understanding of, the management of society's affairs. What Deputy Mrs Erno Simon had said in her speech about the feeling that the people had been grading her when she had been running against another candidate was very touching and attested to a working woman's real sensitivity. The deputy next spoke of the social requirement that the conditions for the functioning of the representative bodies had to be improved.

In conclusion the deputy dwelt on some ideas regarding the role of the PPF and emphasized that the PPF, too, would have to function more fruitfully if the representative body to be elected on the basis of the enacted new Electoral Law was to be more effective. In the debate--and not in the National Assembly debate, because here very strong emphasis was being placed on the PPF nature of the elections, the PPF program and the PPF's role--comments had occasionally been made belittling the role of the PPF. The deputy addressed those speakers when he said that whoever swore to support the PPF program, and not merely as a pretext to gain a mandate, was belittling himself if he did not adequately appreciate this movement and body, within which there was such extensive collaboration. This was not an external and foreign institution that merely "packaged" the elections, but a movement that raised the party's program to the level of a national program.

Ending his speech, the secretary general of the PPF National Council emphasized that the debate on the legislative bill clearly showed the Hungarian people's desire to continue along the road to socialism. He underscored once again the legislative bill's great importance and declared that he fully concurred with the legislative bill, the justice minister's preamble to it, and the Administrative, Legal and Judicial Committee's report.

#### Minister Sums Up Debate

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 130-131

[Text of Justice Minister Dr Imre Markoja's summary of the National Assembly debate on the electoral bill].

[Text] First of all I would like to thank the Comrades for their contributions to the debate. In addition to supporting the legislative bill, the speeches

also offered many suggestions and comments that already point into the future and will aid the suitable law's implementation. I would like to thank separately Comrades Korom, Pozsgay and Gajdics who assured the authors of the bill of their support, on behalf of, respectively, the Central Committee, the PPF, and the National Assembly's Administrative, Legal and Judiciary Committee.

As I agree with what the speakers have said, I feel that it is unnecessary to respond to them separately. However, two problems have been raised and commented on to which I feel obliged to reply:

1. Starting out from the problems of people living on detached farms, Comrade Mrs Istvan Bibok expressed concern regarding the provisions of the legislative bill's Section 24, Paragraph 2. I am able to say the following regarding this. The bill states, and I quote, "The councils' executive committees will determine the number of election precincts and draw their boundaries." It is entirely clear, in my opinion, that this will have to be done locally so that the voters in the precinct will have easy access to the polling place.

This section contains another provision that specifically points in this direction, namely that there should be 600 to 1000 voters per precinct. The deputy has raised the question of whether it would be possible to form precincts also for fewer than 600 voters each. Esteemed National Assembly, my opinion is that if we were to allow the formation of precincts with fewer than 600 voters, there would be a substantial increase in the total number of precincts, and the entire election mechanism would become extremely complicated.

2. Comrade Deputy Dr Rezso Bognar has expressed concern and comments regarding the provisions of Sections 45 and 46. Specifically he wanted to know why the legislative bill did not incorporate the institution of withdrawal.

Here again I would like to begin by pointing out that the law now in force does not regulate the institution of withdrawal. It is undeniable that such cases did occur occasionally in recent years, but their practical solution did not create any special problem. Why does the legislative bill not regulate this question? Because there could be various modes and types of solution in the case of withdrawal, and to regulate each one separately would make the entire Electoral Law too complicated.

To give you some idea of the possibilities, allow me to cite a few examples. Incidentally, we feel that the legislative bill offers suitable possibilities for resolving them. Excuse me for going into details, but this way it will be easier to explain the matter. When there were originally three or more candidates but withdrawals leave only two, then of course there is no obstacle to holding the election. When withdrawals leave only one candidate but there is still time to choose another candidate, a nominating meeting can be held for this purpose, and thereafter the election can again proceed as usual. But when time has run out and there is no way of ensuring at least two candidates, there is no solution but to order a rerun of the election in the given election district.

Thus the present legislative bill does not contain any specific provision regarding withdrawal, but its various other provisions permit these solutions.

And I would like to emphasize once again that to include separate provisions for each possible case of withdrawal would make regulation too complicated.

Finally, there is one more question I would like to dwell on. Comrade Mrs Gyula Szentistvanyi raised an interesting idea in her speech: will there be any perceptible difference between candidates? In this context I can only reiterate that every candidate will run on a common political platform and, according to the Electoral Law, this common political platform is the PPF's program that of course embodies the party's policy. However, there can be different ways and means of achieving a unified policy. Incidentally, it is no accident, rather proof of our society's democratic nature, that the party has increasingly formed different ways and alternatives of implementing its policy, both centrally and locally. In terms of the ways, means and instruments of implementation, then, a candidate running for the National Assembly or the local council who supports the common program might plan different alternatives than his fellow candidate or candidates. I think this is quite natural, and it is possible to differentiate between candidates on this basis.

Comrade Mrs Szentistvanyi also mentioned that the planning of different alternatives might require, among other things, also additional financial resources, and that once the administrative apparatus decides what are the specific objectives and allocates financial resources for them, then there is very little that a candidate running for the National Assembly or the local council can do. I concede this. But I would like to state as a matter of principle that in the final outcome the entire public administration in Hungary functions under the supervision and direction of the representative organs. Thus if a deputy or council member has a conflicting proposal that is better, wiser and more carefully thought through than the proposal of the administrative apparatus, then he must pursue it, bring it before the representative body; the administrative apparatus will be obliged to implement the representative body's decision and ensure also the financial resources for it.

Otherwise I would also like to mention that in the country's present economic situation it is increasingly important that everyone, including deputies and council members, think carefully to ensure that the limited financial resources that are available are spent on the truly most important social and economic objectives. This common thinking must be shared by the members of the government, by officials in various posts within public administration, and also by those who work within state power, in the representative organs. In the final outcome, then, we could say that there can be perceptible differences between candidates, and that the members of the representative organs, the council members and deputies, can make meaningful decisions even in matters for whose realization suitable financial or material resources have to be ensured.

#### Text of Constitutional Amendment

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 p 132

[Law No II of 1983 Amending the Constitution]

[Text] Law No I of 1972 Amending Law No XX of 1949 and Restating the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic (hereinafter: the Constitution) is hereby amended as follows:

## Section 1

The following provisions replace Section 21, Paragraph 3, of the Constitution:

3. The National Assembly elects a Council on Constitutional Law to oversee the constitutionality of statutory regulations and legal directives. The Council on Constitutional Law may suspend the implementation of an unconstitutional regulation, with the exception of the statutory regulations enacted by the National Assembly and the Presidential Council, and of the Supreme Court's statements of principle and authoritative rulings.
4. Everyone is obliged to make available the data requested by the National Assembly's committees and Council on Constitutional Law, respectively to testify before them.

## Section 2

The following provision replaces Section 33, Paragraph 1, Item d, of the Constitution:

- d. The ministers heading the ministries, the chairman of the National Planning Office, and the chairman of the Central People's Control Commission constitute the Council of Ministers.

## Section 3

The following provision replaces Section 38 of the Constitution:

### Section 38

Within the authority specified by the Council of Ministers, the state secretary in charge of a central agency may issue regulations that are binding for citizens, state organs and economic organizations. Such regulations must be promulgated in the official journal. They may not conflict with statutory regulations enacted by the National Assembly, the Presidential Council or the Council of Ministers, nor with ministerial decrees.

## Section 4

The following provision replaces Section 41, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution:

2. The capital and the cities may be subdivided into districts.

## Section 5

The following provision replaces Section 45, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution:

1. Justice in the Hungarian People's Republic is administered by the Supreme Court of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Budapest Court and megye courts, and the local courts.

## Section 6

1. The following provision replaces Section 71, Paragraph 1, of the Constitution:

1. The citizens elect the deputies of the National Assembly, and the members of the village, municipal and Budapest district councils (the local councils) on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage, by secret ballot. The deputies of the National Assembly are elected

by election districts and on the national ticket; and the members of the local councils, by election districts.

2. The following provision replaces Section 71, Paragraph 3, of the Constitution:

3. Their constituents may recall the deputies of the National Assembly and the council members. On the proposal of the Patriotic People's Front National Council, the National Assembly will decide the recall of a deputy elected on the national ticket.

#### Section 7

1. This law becomes effective 1 January 1984; and its Section 6, the day the 1985 general elections will be announced. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic and the Council of Ministers will see to its implementation.

2. Wherever any statutory regulation mentions the jaras court, the local court should be meant instead.

#### Text of Electoral Law

Budapest ALLAM ES IGAZGATAS in Hungarian Feb 84 pp 133-146

[Law No III of 1983 on Electing Deputies of the National Assembly and Council Members]

[Text] To further develop socialist democracy, to broaden the electoral system's democracy, to make the activity of the representative bodies more effective, and to simplify the preparation and organization of elections and the election procedures, the National Assembly--in accordance with the basic principles of the constitution--hereby regulates the election of the National Assembly's deputies and council members as follows.

#### Part I Basic Provisions

##### Chapter I Right to Vote and Eligibility for Public Office

###### Section 1

On the basis of a general, equal and direct right to vote, voters elect by secret ballot the deputies of the National Assembly, and the members of the village, municipal, and Budapest district councils (hereinafter: local councils).

###### Section 2

1. Every adult citizen of the Hungarian People's republic has the right to vote.
2. The following do not have the right to vote:
  - a. The insane;
  - b. Persons whom the court has banned from participation in public affairs;
  - c. Prisoners serving a sentence, and persons in strict custody.
3. Anyone who has the right to vote is eligible to be elected a deputy of the National Assembly or a council member.

4. In an election, each citizen who has the right to vote has one vote. All votes are equal.

#### Section 3

The local councils elect by secret ballot the members of the Budapest Municipal Council and megye councils.

#### Chapter II Election

#### Section 4

1. Deputies of the National Assembly are elected by election districts and on a national ticket. The rights and obligations of the deputies elected by election districts and on the national ticket are identical.
2. Members of the local councils are elected by election districts. In villages that belong to a joint village council, the elected council member is also a member of the village administration.

#### Section 5

1. Each National Assembly election district elects one deputy to the National Assembly, and every council election district elects one council member.
2. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic (hereinafter: Presidential Council) determines the number of deputies that can be elected on the national ticket.
3. The local councils elect, respectively, a specified number of members of the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye councils.

#### Section 6

1. The Presidential Council determines the number of National Assembly election districts, their boundaries, seats and serial numbers.
2. Within the limits specified in this law, the local council will determine the number of council election districts, and the local council's executive committee will determine the boundaries and serial numbers of the election districts.

#### Section 7

Voters must be registered at the place of their permanent residence. A protest may be filed against omission from, or inclusion in, the register of voters. The protest is decided in the last resort by the court.

#### Section 8

1. In the election districts, nominating meetings of voters exercise the right to choose candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local councils. Two or more candidates are chosen in each election district.
2. Residents of the election district, and representatives of the workers of the enterprises, cooperatives, offices and institutions (hereinafter: workplaces) in the district may attend the nominating meetings.

#### Section 9

1. In the election district, the candidates for election to the National Assembly, respectively to the local council, will be the persons who receive the votes of one-third of the voters present at the nominating meetings.

2. On the national ticket, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front nominates the candidates for election to the National Assembly, on the basis of the recommendations submitted by the political, voluntary and common-interest organizations belonging to the Patriotic People's Front.
3. Up to the day before the election and under equal conditions, the candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local council may acquaint the voters with their own activity and outline their objectives; the Patriotic People's Front committees may organize meetings for this purpose.

#### Section 10

1. Everyone must vote in person.
2. A vote may be cast for a candidate by leaving his name on the ballot, and a vote may be cast against a candidate by striking out his name on the ballot.

#### Section 11

1. A member of the local council or some other voter may be elected a member of the Budapest Municipal Council or of the megye council.
2. When nominating candidates for election, consideration must be given to ensuring that at least two-thirds of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members are elected from among members of the local councils.

### Chapter III

#### Deputy of the National Assembly, Council Member

#### Section 12

1. The deputy of the National Assembly elected on the national ticket is the candidate who received more than half of all the valid votes cast nationally, provided more than half of the country's voters voted.
2. The election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member is the candidate who received more than half of the valid votes cast, provided more than half of all voters in the district voted.
3. In addition to the election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member, the candidate who received at least a fourth of all the valid votes cast is the alternate deputy or alternate council member.
4. The elected member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council is the candidate who received more votes than half the number of local council members electing him.

#### Section 13

Deputies of the National Assembly and council members shall report regularly on their activities to their constituents.

#### Section 14

1. The mandate of the deputy of the National Assembly or council member ceases:
  - a. When the term of the National Assembly expires or when the National Assembly is dissolved;
  - b. When the term of the council expires or the council is dissolved;
  - c. When the deputy or council member is disqualified;

- d. When the deputy or council member is recalled;
- e. When the deputy or council member resigns;
- f. When the deputy or council member loses his right to vote;
- g. When the deputy or council member dies.

2. The council member's mandate ceases when the council ceases due to changes in territorial administrative subdivision.
3. The mandate of the alternate deputy or alternate council member ceases for the reasons listed in Paragraphs 1 and 2, with the exception of recall.

#### Section 15

1. The voters may recall the deputy of the National Assembly or council member who is unable to fulfill his mandate or becomes unworthy of it.
2. A proposal for recall may be submitted, respectively, to the Presidential Council and the local council by at least 10 percent of the voters concerned; furthermore, in the case of a deputy elected in a National Assembly election district, by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front; and in the case of a member of a local council, by the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front. The reason for the proposed recall must be specified in the proposal.
3. The voters vote on the recall proposal by secret ballot, in accordance with the provisions on voting contained in the present law.
4. The National Assembly decides a proposal presented by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front to recall a deputy of the National Assembly who was elected on the national ticket.

#### Chapter IV

##### Voter Registration

#### Section 16

1. The executive committee of the local council registers the voters at their permanent place of residence, on the basis of the data of the state population register.
2. It is necessary to include in the register of voters the Hungarian citizens who will have completed their 18th year not later than the day of the election or who have become of age by marriage.
3. The local council's executive committee will prepare a list of the persons of age who do not have the right to vote (Section 2, Paragraph 2).
4. The register of voters must be compiled so that it will be suitable for identifying the election district, precinct, and the voter. The chairman of the local council and the secretary of its executive committee certify the register of voters.

#### Section 17

1. The register of voters must be placed on public display in the official premises of the council for at least eight days, and the time when it will be displayed must be announced in the customary manner.
2. Simultaneously with the public display of the voters' register, the voters must be notified in writing about their inclusion in the register, indicating the election district, precinct, the address of the polling place, and the day of the election.

## Section 18

1. During the period that the voters' register is on public display, the voters may file a protest with the local council's executive committee against omission from, or inclusion in, the voters' register.
2. A protest regarded to be unfounded must be transferred to the local court, or in Budapest to the Pest Central District Court, (hereinafter: court) not later than the day after it is filed.
3. The court must decide the protest within three days of receiving it, in extrajudicial procedure, with the participation of lay assessors, and after hearing the interested parties if necessary.
4. The day it decides the protest, the court notifies of its decision the local council's executive committee and the person who filed the protest. If the court orders the removal of a person's name from the register of voters, he too must be notified about the court's decision.

## Section 19

1. The local council's executive committee will add the omitted voter's name to the register. A notice of inclusion pursuant to Section 17, Paragraph 2, must be sent also in the case of subsequent additions.
2. The local council's executive committee removes from the voters' register the voters who have since died, are already included in the register of another election district or request their inclusion there, and the persons who have lost their right to vote.
3. Within 15 days before the election, the modified voters' register must be placed on public display for 3 days in the council's official premises.

## Section 20

1. If the voter changes his place of permanent residence after the voters' register has been prepared, he may apply for inclusion in the voters' register to the local council's executive committee or the election committee of his new place of residence. To his application he must attach a certificate from the council's executive committee of his previous place of residence, to the effect that the applicant was included in the voters' register but has been removed.
2. On the basis of this certificate and the applicant's personal identification card, the council's executive committee or the election committee of the new place of residence will include the voter in the register of voters.
3. On the basis of a certificate from the local council's executive committee of his place of permanent residence, the voter who on election day will be absent from his place of permanent residence may request the local council's executive committee or election committee of his place of temporary residence or stay to include him in the register of voters. Such a voter may vote only on the national ticket.

## Chapter V

### Election Districts and Precincts

## Section 21

In Budapest and within the megyes, the National Assembly election districts must be drawn so as to enable every 30,000 residents to elect a deputy.

## Section 22

1. The number of council election districts must be determined, commensurately with the number of permanent residents, so that there will be at least 30 election districts in a city or a Budapest district, and at least 11 in a village with its own council. At least three council members per village must be elected to a joint village council, and such a council must have at least 11 members.
2. The number of council election districts may not exceed the following maximums:
  - a. In a village with 1000 or fewer residents, 21;
  - b. In a village with 1000 to 5000 residents, 31;
  - c. In a town or village with 5,000 to 10,000 residents, 35;
  - d. In a town or village with 10,000 to 20,000 residents, 45;
  - e. In a village with more than 20,000 residents, 51;
  - f. In a town or a Budapest district with 20,000 to 50,000 residents, 61;
  - g. In a city or a Budapest district with 50,000 to 150,000 residents, 81;
  - h. In a city or a Budapest district with over 150,000 residents, 111.
3. In forming the council election districts in the case of villages with joint village councils, it is necessary to take into consideration the combined total number of residents in the villages sharing a joint village council.

## Section 23

The boundaries of the National Assembly election districts and council election districts must be made public within 10 days from the day the election is announced.

## Section 24

1. Precincts must be formed within 10 days from the day the election is announced.
2. The local council's executive committee determines the number of precincts and draws their boundaries in such a way that there is a precinct for every 600 to 1000 voters, and at least one precinct in every village. If there are more than one precinct, they are assigned serial numbers.
3. The precincts must be drawn so that a precinct will include the entire area of one or more council election districts.

## Chapter VI Election Organs

### Section 25

1. Within their areas of operation, the election presidiums and election committees (hereinafter: election organs)
  - a. Oversee the legality of the election and, if necessary, adopt measures to restore public order;
  - b. Cooperate on organizing and conducting the election;
  - c. Keep a record of the candidates running for the National Assembly.
2. The election organs' term of office is identical with the term of, respectively, the National Assembly and the councils.

### Section 26

1. A National Election Presidium must be formed to perform the national tasks; a Budapest Municipal Election Presidium, and megye, municipal, Budapest

district and village election presidiums must be formed to handle the territorial and local tasks; and an election committee must be formed in each precinct.

2. The election presidiums must be formed within 20 days from the day the election is announced; and the election committees, at least 10 days before election day.
3. In the member villages of a joint village council, a joint election presidium is formed.

#### Section 27

1. Only a voter may be a member of an election organ.
2. A candidate for the National Assembly or for the council may not be a member of an election organ on whose territory he has been nominated.
3. During its operation, an election organ is regarded as a public authority; and its member, as a public official.

#### Section 28

1. The National Election Presidium has 11 members; the other election presidiums and election committees have five members each. At its first meeting, an election organ elects from among its members a chairman and a secretary. The National Election Presidium elects also a deputy chairman.
2. The names of the National Election Presidium's chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and members must be published in MAGYAR KOZLONY.
3. The names of the election presidium's chairman, secretary and members must be posted in the council's official premises; the names of the chairman, secretary and members of the village or municipal election presidium at the seat of a National Assembly election district must be posted also in the official premises of the village council on the territory of this election presidium..

#### Section 29

1. The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front commissions the members of the National Election Presidium. After the Presidential Council confirms their commission, the members take their oath of office before the Presidential Council's president.
2. The appropriate committees of the Patriotic People's Front commission the members of the other election organs. After the executive committee of the appropriate council confirms the commission, the members take their oath of office before the council's chairman.
3. The members of the election organs take the following oath: "I swear to perform my duties in the National Election Presidium (election presidium or election committee) in accordance with the interests of the Hungarian people, in compliance with the statutory regulations, and to the best of my ability."

#### Section 30

1. If the member of an election organ is prevented from performing his duty, the appropriate committee of the Patriotic People's Front may deputize someone to act for the member in the given election.
2. The commission of an election organ's member ceases
  - a. With his resignation;
  - b. With the commission's withdrawal due to the member's unworthiness;

- c. With the member's death;
- d. With the cessation, due to changes in territorial administrative subdivision, of the council that commissioned the member.

#### Section 31

An election organ has a quorum when a majority of its members are present, and it adopts its resolutions by a majority vote of the members present. In case of a tie vote, the chairman's or, in his absence, the secretary's vote is the decisive vote.

#### Section 32

##### The National Election Presidium

- a. Accept the candidates running for the National Assembly and makes public its resolution concerning their acceptance;
- b. Decides protests against the activity in the National Assembly election of the local election presidium functioning at the seat of a National Assembly election district;
- c. Makes public the national election results;
- d. Schedules by-elections in National Assembly election districts;
- e. Issues the mandates to the deputies elected on the national ticket;
- f. Reports to the National Assembly on the course of the election nationwide.

#### Section 33

##### The Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium

- a. Posts the announcements of elections to the National Assembly;
- b. Determines and publishes the results of electing the members of the Budapest Municipal Council, respectively of the megye council;
- c. Cooperates in determining the results of the local-council elections;
- d. Decides protests against the activity of the local election presidium that rejected a candidate for council member;
- e. Reports to the Budapest Municipal Council, respectively to the megye council, on the course of the elections in Budapest and the megye.

#### Section 34

##### The village, municipal or Budapest district (hereinafter: local) election presidium

- a. Decides the acceptance of candidates for council member, keeps a record of the candidates and makes public their names;
- b. Decides protests against the way the nominating meetings were conducted;
- c. Sees to it that announcements of council elections are prepared and posted, and that the names of the accepted candidates appear on the ballots;
- d. Determines and maintains a record of the results in the council election districts;
- e. Decides the protests against the election committee's actions during the balloting or, in the case of a council election, against the committee's decision concerning the ballot count;
- f. Determines the summary results of the council election;
- g. Schedules a by-election;
- h. Issues the mandate to the elected local-council member, respectively a notice of election to the elected alternate council member;
- i. Conducts the voting on a council member's recall;
- j. Reports to the local council on the course of the elections locally.

### Section 35

In addition to its other duties, the local election presidium at the seat of a National Assembly election district

- a. Decides a protest against how a nominating meeting to choose candidates for the National Assembly was conducted;
- b. Decides a protest against an election committee's decision concerning the ballot count in a National Assembly election;
- c. Determines the election results in the National Assembly election district;
- d. Issues the mandate to the elected deputy of the National Assembly, and the notice of election to the elected alternate deputy;
- e. Conducts the balloting on a deputy's recall.

### Section 36

The election committee

- a. Receives the printed forms necessary for balloting;
- b. Conducts the balloting, and sees to it that legality is observed and order maintained;
- c. Determines the election results in the precinct;
- d. Sends the balloting protocol to the local election presidium.

## Section VII

### Nomination

#### Section 37

1. The Patriotic People's Front committees--in cooperation with the political, voluntary and common-interest organs belonging to the Patriotic People's Front--organize the nominating meetings.
2. At the nominating meetings, candidates may be proposed for nomination by the organs of the Patriotic People's Front, the political, voluntary and common-interest organs, representatives of the workers at the workplaces or by any voter.

#### Section 38

1. To nominate a candidate for the National Assembly, two or more nominating meetings must be held per election district.
2. If the proposed person received a vote at an earlier nominating meeting, all the proposals presented there must be resubmitted to a vote also at the subsequent nominating meeting. However, the already held nominating meeting does not have to be reconvened if additional candidates are proposed for nomination at a subsequent nominating meeting.

#### Section 39

1. To nominate a candidate for the local council, a nominating meeting must be held in each election district.
2. In villages with fewer than 500 residents, the candidates of the election district may be nominated also at a joint nominating meeting.

#### Section 40

1. Nomination is by open vote. The candidates proposed for nomination must be submitted to a vote separately, in the sequence in which the motions were introduced.

2. The voter attending a nominating meeting may support the nominations of more than one person.

#### Section 41

1. Minutes must be kept of a nominating meeting. They must contain the place and date of the meeting, the number of persons present, the personal data of the persons nominated, and the number of votes each one received. The minutes are signed by the chairman of the nominating meeting's presidium and by two presidium members whom the chairman designates.
2. The nominating meeting's presidium sends the minutes of the meeting to the Budapest or megye committee of the Patriotic People's Front in the case of a candidate for the National Assembly, and to the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front in the case of a candidate for council member.

#### Section 42

1. Any voter may file a protest against the way the nominating meeting was conducted.
2. The protest must be filed within three days from the day of the nominating meeting, with the local election presidium, respectively with the local election presidium at the seat of the election district in the case of nominating a candidate for the National Assembly. The appropriate election organ considers the protest immediately and adopts a final decisions.

#### Section 43

1. The Budapest or the megye committee of the Patriotic People's Front sends the list of candidates for the National Assembly to the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front at least 20 days before election day.
2. The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front presents to the National Election Presidium the list of candidates for the National Assembly. The same person can be declared a candidate only in one National Assembly election district. A candidate on the national ticket cannot run also in a National Assembly election district.
3. Notification must be in writing, with attached statements by the candidates for the National Assembly to the effect that they support the program of the Patriotic People's Front and accept the nomination.

#### Section 44

1. If the nomination meets the statutory requirements, the National Election Presidium accepts the candidate for the National Assembly.
2. If the election district does not have two accepted candidates, a new nominating meeting must be held within 7 days.
3. The National Election Presidium sends the list of accepted candidates to the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium, respectively to the megye election presidium, which in turn notifies the Budapest or megye committee of the Patriotic People's Front, and the appropriate local election presidium at the seat of the National Assembly election district.
4. The Budapest Municipal Election Presidium, respectively the megye election presidium, publishes at least 10 days before the election the names and occupations of the candidates for the National Assembly.

#### Section 45

1. The local committee of the Patriotic People's Front presents to the local election presidium at least 20 days before the election the names of the

persons nominated at the meetings held to nominate candidates for the local council. The same person may be a candidate only in one council election district.

2. Statements by the candidates, to the effect that they support the program of the Patriotic People's Front and accept the nomination, must be attached to the notification.

#### Section 46

1. The local election presidium decides about accepting the candidates, on the same day it receives the list of candidates. It immediately informs of its decision the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front.
2. If the local election presidium rejected a candidate because he failed to meet the statutory requirements, within 3 days the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front may file a protest with the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium, which must immediately consider the protest. The election presidium's decision is final.
3. If the election district does not have two accepted candidates, a new nominating meeting must be held within 7 days.
4. At least 10 days before the election, the local election presidium makes public the names and occupations of the candidates for council member.

#### Section 47

1. Candidates for the National Assembly equal to about 10 percent of the number of National Assembly election districts are nominated for the national ticket.
2. The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front nominates for the national ticket as many candidates as the number of deputies that can be elected on it.

#### Section 48

1. At least 30 days before the election, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front presents--in accordance with the regulations on presenting the list of candidates, as applicable--to the National Election Presidium the list of candidates running on the national ticket.
2. The National Election Presidium sends the National Council of the Patriotic Peoples Front the list of accepted candidates running on the national ticket and makes this list public at least 10 days before the election.

### Chapter VIII

#### Balloting, Determination of the Election Results

#### Section 49

1. At least 10 days before the election, the local election presidium issues an election announcement.
2. The announcement must include the date of the election, the time when the polls open and close, the serial numbers and territorial arrangement of the precincts, and the locations of the polling places, specifying also the voters of which election district will vote in which precinct. The announcement must remind voters to bring their personal identification card with them.

#### Section 50

1. A voter may vote in the appropriate precinct. Upon his request, at least two members of the election committee will visit the voter who is impaired in his movement because of age or illness, to enable him to vote.
2. On election day the polls are open between 06:00 and 18:00.
3. The election committee may declare the poll closed before 18:00 if all the voters in the voters' register have voted.
- 4.. If local conditions so warrant, the local election presidium may order the polls to open at 05:00, and the election committee may order the precinct poll kept open until 19:00.
5. In the Budapest districts, cities, and in villages that qualify as recreational or tourist centers, the local election presidium designates one precinct that will remain open until 18:00 even if all registered voters have voted, in order to ensure voting on the basis of certification. The megye election presidium will determine which villages qualify as recreational or tourist centers for the purpose of the present law.

#### Section 51

1. To ensure secrecy of voting, at least two booths must be installed in every polling place. Secrecy of voting must be maintained even in the case of voting according to the last sentence of Section 50, Paragraph 1.
2. At each polling place, two or more ballot boxes must be set up to receive the ballots. The ballot boxes must be closed so that ballots cannot be removed from them without unlocking the box, breaking the seal or breaking open the ballot box.
3. The election committee inspects the state of the ballot boxes before the commencement of balloting and enters its findings in the balloting protocol.

#### Section 52

1. The chairman of the election committee is responsible for maintaining order in the polling place and its vicinity on election day.
2. The measures that the chairman of the election committee adopts to maintain order are binding for everyone.
3. No electioneering is permitted at the polling place during balloting.
4. No one other than the members of the National Election Presidium, appropriate election presidium and election committee, the workers assigned to these organs, and the representatives of the Patriotic People's Front and news media who have been issued identification cards, may stay in a polling place longer than is necessary to vote.

#### Section 53

1. Official ballots must be used for voting.
2. The ballot shows the precinct's serial number and the names of the candidates of record, in alphabetic order.

#### Section 54

1. The voters vote in the order of their arrival. Only the voter who is included in the election district's register of voters may vote.
2. The election committee checks the voter's identity and whether he is included in the register of voters.
3. The election committee turns away the voter who is unable to identify himself properly. The chairman of the election committee keeps a list of the

voters who have been turned away. Even the turned away voter may vote if he presents proper identification before the poll closes.

4. If there is no obstacle to voting, the chairman of the election committee gives the voter his ballots and, if necessary, explains how to vote.

#### Section 55

1. A ballot is invalid if it was not the official ballot, or if it is impossible to determine from the ballot whom the voter voted for.
2. In the National Assembly and council election districts, a ballot is invalid if the voter left on it the names of more than one candidate.
3. The election committee's decision regarding the validity of a ballot is final.

#### Section 56

1. The voter votes in the voting booth by marking his ballots and placing them in an envelope, which he then deposits in the ballot box before the election committee.
2. During voting, only the voter may be in the voting booth. The voter who cannot read, or who has a physical disability that hampers him in voting, may avail himself of another voter's assistance.
3. The election committee notes in the voters' register that the voter has voted.

#### Section 57

1. A protest may be filed with the local election presidium against any decision or action of the election committee during voting and, in the case of a local council election, in conjunction with counting the ballots.
2. In a National Assembly election, a protest may be filed with the election presidium at the seat of the National Assembly election district, against the election committee's decision that concerns the counting of the ballots.
3. The appropriate election presidium considers the protest without delay, and its decision is final.

#### Section 58

1. When the time specified for keeping the polls open has elapsed, the chairman of the election committee orders the polling place locked. The voters already in the polling place, or in the entrance to it, may still vote. Thereafter the election committee declares the poll closed.
2. No ballot may be accepted once the poll has been declared closed.

#### Section 59

1. After declaring the poll closed, the election committee opens the ballot boxes, sorts the ballots in them, compares the number of ballots with the number of registered voters, and then counts the valid and the invalid ballots.
2. Besides the election committee, only the members of the National Election Presidium and appropriate election presidium, the workers assigned to these organs, and the representatives of the Patriotic People's Front and news media who have been issued identification cards, may stay in the polling place while the ballots are being counted.

### Section 60

1. The election committee prepares, in duplicate and by election districts, a protocol on the balloting and counting of the ballots. The members of the election committee sign the protocol.
2. The protocol must show:
  - a. The place and date of balloting;
  - b. The serial numbers of the election district and precinct, and the names of the election committee's members;
  - c. The fact and result of opening the ballot boxes;
  - d. The time when balloting began and when it ended;
  - e. The number of registered voters;
  - f. The total number of votes cast;
  - g. The number of valid ballots, and the number of invalid ballots;
  - h. The number of votes, separately for each candidate;
  - i. The number of ballots on which all candidates are crossed out;
  - j. The number of voters who have been turned away;
  - k. The more important events during balloting, a brief description of the protests filed with the election committee, and the decisions on them.
3. In conjunction with the national ticket, the balloting protocol must contain separately the following:
  - a. The number of registered voters;
  - b. The total number of votes cast;
  - c. The number of valid ballots, and the number of invalid ballots;
  - d. The number of votes against the individual candidates.

### Section 61

1. When the protocol has been signed, the chairman of the election committee immediately sends one copy to the local election presidium.
2. The other copy of the protocol, together with the used and the unused ballots, the voters' register and other election documents, must be sent in a sealed package to the local council's executive committee, for safekeeping.

### Section 62

1. On the basis of the protocols sent in by the election committees, the local election presidium at the seat of the National Assembly election district determines the election results of the National Assembly election district, and the appropriate local election presidium determines the council election district's election results.
2. Besides the members of the appropriate election presidium, only the members of the National Election Presidium, the members of the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or megye election presidium concerned, the workers assigned to these organs, and the representatives of the Patriotic People's Front and news media who have been issued identification cards, may be present when the election district's election results are being determined.

### Section 63

1. A protocol, signed by the election presidium's members, must be prepared of determining the election district's election results.
2. The election protocol must contain the following:
  - a. The date of the election;
  - b. The designation of the election presidium and the names of its members;

- c. The data specified under Section 60, Paragraph 2, Items e through j;
- d. A brief description of the protests that might have been filed, and of the decisions on them;
- e. The name of the deputy, respectively of the council member, elected in the district, and the name of the alternate deputy, respectively of the alternate council member.

#### Section 64

- 1. The election presidium at the seat of a National Assembly election district immediately send the election protocol to the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium.
- 2. On the basis of the election protocols, the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium sums up the results of voting on the national ticket and sends this total, together with the election protocols on the results in the individual National Assembly election districts, to the National Election Presidium.

#### Section 65

- 1. The National Election Presidium determines and makes public the national results of the election.
- 2. The election presidium at the seat of a National Assembly election district presents the mandate to the deputy elected in the district, and the National Election Presidium present the mandates to the deputies elected on the national ticket.
- 3. If a protest is filed against the election of a deputy, the National Assembly determines the validity of the election.

#### Section 66

- 1. On the basis of the election districts' election protocols, the local election presidium determines the council election results for its territory and prepares an election protocol on the determination of the results. The members of the election presidium sign the protocol.
- 2. The protocol must show:
  - a. The date of the election;
  - b. The names of the election presidium's members;
  - c. The number of registered voters;
  - d. The total number of votes casts;
  - e. The number of valid ballots, and the number of invalid ballots;
  - f. The number of votes for the election district's candidates;
  - g. The number of ballots on which the names of all candidates were crossed out;
  - h. The number of voters turned away;
  - i. The number of elected council members and alternate members;
  - j. The number of election districts in which a runoff must be held.
- 3. The protocol and the other election documents must be handed over to the executive committee of the local council concerned.

#### Section 67

- 1. On the basis of the local election presidiums' protocols, the Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium determines the summary results of the council elections on its territory. It prepares in

duplicate a protocol on determining the summary results. The members of the election presidium sign the protocol.

2. The Budapest Municipal Election Presidium or the megye election presidium immediately sends one copy of its protocol on determining the summary results to the National Election Presidium; and it hands over the other copy to the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council.

## Chapter IX Runoffs, By-Elections

### Section 68

The provisions of the present law apply to runoffs and by-elections, but with the departures contained in this chapter.

### Section 69

1. If more than half of the voters in an election district failed to vote, or if none of the candidates receives more than half of the valid votes cast, the election presidium concerned schedules a runoff that must be held within 15 days of the first election.
2. New candidates also may run in the runoff.
3. The candidate who receives the most votes in the runoff will be the elected deputy or council member.

### Section 70

1. If a National Assembly or council election district becomes vacant, and the district has an alternate deputy or alternate council member, the vacancy is filled by the alternate deputy or alternate council member. In such cases the deputy or council member's mandate must be presented to the alternate.
2. If the election district specified in Paragraph 1 does not have an alternate deputy or alternate council member, a new deputy or council member must be elected for the remainder of the National Assembly or council's term (by-election).
3. A by-election must be held also when a new council is formed as a result of territorial administrative changes, and the Presidential Council orders an election in the territorial administrative subdivision.
4. When the Presidential Council dissolves a council, it simultaneously schedules an election to elect a new council.
5. The term of a council elected pursuant to Paragraph 2, 3 or 4 runs until the next general election.

### Section 71

1. If a by-election becomes necessary (Section 70, Paragraph 2), a proposal to call a by-election must be presented within 60 days:
  - a. In the case of electing a deputy of the National Assembly, by the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council, through the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, to the Presidential Council;
  - b. In the case of electing a council member, by the executive committee of the local council, to the Budapest Municipal Council or the megye council.

2. The date of a by-election is set by the Presidential Council in the case of electing a deputy of the National Assembly, and by the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council in the case of electing a council member.
3. By-elections must be held when necessary, usually once a year.
4. The National Assembly by-elections and the local council by-elections must be held the same day. In this case the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council determines the local election districts in which by-elections must be held.

#### Section 72

1. The Presidential Council in the case of a National Assembly by-election, or the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council in the case of local council by-election, calls the by-elections at least 45 days before they are held.
2. Within ten days from the day the by-elections are called, the boundaries of the election districts must be made public in which by-elections will be held.

#### Section 73

1. At least 15 days before the day of the by-elections, the register of voters must be posted for 3 days in the council's official premises.
2. At least 10 days before the day of the by-elections, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front presents to the National Election Presidium the names of the National Assembly election district's candidates, and the local committee of the Patriotic People's Front presents to the local election presidium the names of the council election district's candidates.
3. At least 5 days before the day of the by-elections, the voters must be informed--by means of an announcement or in some other way--about the date of the by-elections, the hours during which the polls will be open, the serial numbers and boundaries of the precincts, and the designation of the polling places. Simultaneously the public must be informed of the candidates' names and occupations.
4. In conjunction with the preparation and conduct of by-elections, the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council will set the other time limits that are not mentioned in this chapter.

#### Chapter X

##### Recall

#### Section 74

1. The appropriate election presidium informs the person in question and the voters concerned about the recall proposal and its content.
2. On the basis of the recall proposal, the Presidential Council, respectively the local council, schedules a vote on the recall proposal for a day at least 30 days after notifying the person in question and informing the voters concerned about the recall proposal.

#### Section 75

1. The appropriate election presidium organizes the balloting and prepares a protocol of the ballot count, which it sends to the National Assembly, respectively to the local council.

2. A recall requires that more than half of the voters participate in the balloting, and that more than half of the participating voters vote in favor of recall.

## Chapter XI

### Legal Status of the Deputy and Council Member in Case of Changes in Territorial Administrative Subdivision

#### Section 76

1. If an entire election district on the territory of one local council is annexed to another local council, the election district's council member becomes a member of the local council to which his election district has been annexed.
2. If a part of an election district is annexed to another local council, the organ that orders the annexation decides whether the election district's council member will be the local council member for the original election district's annexed or nonannexed part, as a separate election district.
3. The organ ordering the annexation decides whether an election has to be held in the original election district's part that is left without a council member and is to be regarded as a separate new election district, or must it be annexed to a neighboring council member's election district.

#### Section 77

1. If a town or village is annexed to another megye, the megye council member elected by the municipal or village council becomes a member of the council of the megye to which the town or village has been annexed. With the necessary difference, this applies also to annexations between Budapest and the megye.
2. If several villages jointly elected a member of the megye council and one of the villages is annexed to another megye, the organ ordering the annexation decides which council's member the elected member will be in the future.

#### Section 78

1. If as a result of the territorial change a new council is formed or an existing one ceases, the Presidential Council decides whether on the territory of the administrative subdivision an election to the local council, Budapest Municipal Council or megye council has to be held, or will the council be formed pursuant to Paragraph 2.
2. If on the basis of Paragraph 1 an election does not have to be held, the council members become members of the newly formed council, respectively of the council to whose territory their election districts or the local council has been annexed. The member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council retains his mandate.
3. If an election to the local council does not have to be held when a new local council is formed, the new council's first meeting will be convened by the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council, within 15 days of the territorial change.
4. With the procedures pursuant to this section, the number of council members in the councils affected by territorial administrative changes may differ from the limits specified in this law, until the next general election.

### Section 79

1. If the boundaries of the council election district change, the boundaries of the corresponding National Assembly election district change automatically.
2. If a substantial part of a National Assembly election district is annexed, the Presidential Council acts pursuant to Section 78.

### Chapter XII

#### Election of Members to the Budapest Municipal or Megye Council

### Section 80

1. At most 151 members may be elected to the Budapest Municipal Council; in accordance with the size of the population and the number of local councils, at most 101 members may be elected to a megye council.
2. Within the limits specified in Paragraph 1, the Presidential Council determines the number of members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the megye councils. A local council elects to the Budapest Municipal Council or the megye council the number of members that the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council specifies. Several village councils may jointly elect a member of the megye council.
3. The members of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council must be elected within 30 days of the election of the local councils' members, usually at the first sessions of the local councils.

### Section 81

1. The Budapest or megye committee of the Patriotic People's Front proposes the nomination of a candidate, but also any member of the local council may propose the nomination of a candidate from among the members of his own local council. The local councils may also nominate more candidates than the number of members they elect to the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council.
2. A candidate for election to the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council will be the person who receives the votes of a third of the local council members present at the council's nominating session, supports the program of the Patriotic People's Front and accepts the nomination.
3. Nomination is by open vote.

### Section 82

1. If a local council elects more than one member of the [Budapest Municipal or] megye council and more candidates than the number of members to be elected have received the votes of more than half of the local council's members, the members of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council will be the candidates who received the most votes.
2. If several village councils jointly elect a member of the megye council, each village council votes separately. The result of the election is determined by adding all the votes and comparing the total votes for each candidate to the combined total number of members that the local councils have.

### Section 83

1. The chairman of the local council presents the mandate to the elected member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council.

2. When several village councils jointly elect a member of the megye council, the elected member's mandate is presented to him by the council chairman of the village in which the elected member resides. If the elected member does not reside in any of the villages in question, the megye election presidium designates the village council whose chairman presents the mandate.

#### Section 84

1. If fewer candidates receive the required number of votes than the number of members that must be elected to the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council, a runoff must be ordered to elect the number of members still needed. New candidates also may be nominated for the runoff. The runoff must be held without delay, but not later than 8 days from the first election.
2. When the seat of a member on the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council becomes vacant, a by-election must be held according to the provisions of this chapter as applicable, at the next council session, but not later than 6 months from the day the vacancy arose.

#### Section 85

1. A proposal to recall a member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council may be introduced by the executive committee of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council, the Budapest or megye committee of the Patriotic People's Front or by any member of the council that elected the council member.
2. The electing council decides the recall proposal, according to the election rules as applicable.

### Chapter XIII Sundry Provisions

#### Section 86

1. The term of the National Assembly and of the councils is 5 years from the election of the National Assembly's deputies, respectively of the council members.
2. An election must be held within 3 months from the expiration of the National Assembly's term, respectively of the councils' term.
3. The Presidential Council calls National Assembly and council elections at least 90 days before election day.

#### Section 87

1. The council's executive committee sees to it that the workers participating in the preparation and conduct of the election, furthermore the necessary premises, equipment, forms and ballots are placed at the disposal of the election presidium and election committee.
2. The National Election Presidium regulates the designs of the forms necessary for the election, and the manner of producing them.

#### Section 88

1. The public administrative and court proceedings in conjunction with the election, voter registration and the right to vote are duty-free.
2. The material and personnel expenditures in conjunction with the election are borne by the state.

**Section 89**

1. The present law will become effective the day the date of the 1985 general election will be announced. The Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers, and the National Election Presidium will see to its implementation.
2. When the present law becomes effective, the following will simultaneously be rescinded:
  - Law No III of 1966 on Electing Deputies of the National Assembly and Council Members, as amended by Law No III of 1970;
  - Section 2, Paragraph 1, of Law No I of 1975 on Amending Certain Provisions of the Constitution;
  - Law Decree No 35/1967 on Runoffs and By-Elections, and the Legal Status of the National Assembly's Deputies and Council Members in the Case of Territorial Administrative Changes, as modified and amended by Law Decree No 26/1971; and
  - Decree of the Council of Ministers No 10/1980 (3 April) on the 1980 General Election of the National Assembly's Deputies and Council Members.

1014

CSO: 2500/273

POLAND

BRIEFS

PZPR INTERNAL AFFAIRS MEETING--A meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Party Internal Affairs Commission, chaired by Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, was held on 17 May. The commission members are continuing their work, begun in January of this year, on the drafting of a document spelling out the rules which are to govern consultations conducted within the party ranks. It was pointed out during the discussion period that the results of opinion surveys made by the provincial party committees prove that the incorporation of the consultations method into practical, day-to-day party life and the drafting of a document standardizing and institutionalizing this practice is something that needs to be done. The need for this action stems from decisions made at the 9th Congress and is a reflection of the desire for the broadening of internal party manifesto "What Are We Fighting For, Where Are We Headed?", the rules and regulations governing the election of delegates, executive officers, and audit officers in the PZPR and instructions concerning party dues. The commission took a position on the rules, procedures, and methods followed in conducting consultations inside the party. It was agreed that, after due consideration is given to the recommendations made by the commission and the comments solicited from the provincial party committees, the draft version of this document will be submitted for review by the Central Committee politburo. During the latter half of the meeting the commission members broke away to continue working in separate working groups. A thorough survey was made of suggestions concerning internal party affairs raised at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 May 84 p 4]

CSO: 2600/1029

YUGOSLAVIA

MEDIA VIEWS ON KOSOVO ISSUES COMPARED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1739,  
29 Apr 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Reflections of Arrogance; Kosovo in the Press"]

[Text] Why does the tone used by the press in writing about events in Kosovo depend on the language in which a given article is written and the place in which it is published?

How does the press write about Kosovo? During the last 3 years, this question has often concealed deeper political motives and relationships. It has even involved a bit of dramatic conflict upon occasion, as in May 1981 when a Pristina professor and politician resumed the use of the term "central press" and "Belgrade press" apparently not by accident, and with obvious negative political foreboding.

These different evaluations have sometimes concealed different political points of view, sometimes controversies, and sometimes misunderstandings. Why different Yugoslav newspapers write about Kosovo in different ways has long been inexplicable. A meeting of the Commission for Information and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, which was held this week regarding this matter, presented some encouraging new information. In an introductory report, Momcilo Baljak stated that, in analyses prepared for this meeting in the republic and in the Province of Kosovo, certain differences in the evaluations of the press have been and still are apparent, but they are not essential differences, but mostly "differences in emphasis." The entire discussion was then distinguished by an effort to overcome these differences.

Of course, this discussion did not overlook the common evaluation of the situation in the press, which is most often characterized by a responsible regard for the complex problems in Kosovo, but in which certain negative tendencies have still been maintained. These tendencies, according to some evaluations, are in fact less frequent today than they have been. At the same time, a new negative phenomenon has been indicated--a certain ebb in what is written about Kosovo has been observed which is considered to be unjustified, because as Vojislav Micovic said, the impression (unjustified) has been created "that things have roared on by."

It was also brought up at the meeting that in a forum of the Socialist Alliance or someplace else at the federal level, a discussion had been begun concerning the manner in which the Yugoslav press writes about Kosovo, in order to overcome differences (today more quantitative than qualitative) in the interpretation of Kosovo reality.

This sort of tone must be noted because of the fact that it represents an important innovation. It does not take much effort for us to remember, for example, the many lines of disagreement which have been drawn up to the present time. The most recent example, which our newspaper pointed out in January, involved the controversial tract of TV Pristina entitled, "Who Has Been Quiet For 2 ½ Years and Why," which represented an authentic political platform inspired by forces which had prevailed in Kosovo prior to 1981.

There have been other serious political controversies which have been expressed through evaluations about the press. One, for example, can be illustrated by the statement of Refik Agaj at a meeting of the Kosovo Assembly. The statement made at that time accused the media of encouraging emigration from Kosovo with what it was writing. Although this point of view had been rejected rather strongly in an earlier debate when similar words were used by an official of the Socialist Alliance at the federal level, such statements are often repeated. Even the most responsible politicians from Kosovo have repeated them, including the president of the Provincial Presidium himself, Sefcet Jasari, in an interview last fall.

Among such misunderstandings of more prominent persons one can also include the statement of the secretary of the province's SIZ for Employment, Faslija Kajtazija, who taking issue with Mitja Ribicic's statement that we "should create not only a program for halting emigration, but also a program of migration into Kosovo," constructed a thesis about a so-called third colonization of Kosovo.

#### RILINGJA--JEDINSTVO

Because of all these things (those mentioned and many which have not been mentioned), it is worth noting the observation which was repeated many times during the discussion that the tone, and even the point of view of some newspapers, depends to a great extent (or at least has depended up to the present) on the place where they are published (the republic of which they are a member) or on the language in which they are printed (the nationality to which they belong).

RILINGJA termed the well-known controversy concerning the slaughterhouse in the village of Silov as being "incomprehensible opposition to progress in the name of narrow, personal interests," and used different emphasis to call the contributions of TV Belgrade "one more knife (in the back) of interethnic relations in Kosovo and beyond." JEDINSTVO, however, recalled that the decisions made concerning this slaughterhouse and a few other projects took place before the counterrevolutionary events, and that in making these decisions, "individuals were also involved who were discredited because of their irredentist positions."

These, so to speak, "distant positions of the two newspapers," can also be seen in the example of the book "Istorische narodne pesme" ["Historical Folk Songs"] of Demus Salja. JEDINSTVO thought that the book "has endured and functioned as propagandistic, textbook literature with the purpose of popularizing Enver's vision of the creation of a great Albania." RILINDJA stated that the author "lost class and political criteria in choosing, among other things songs which extol Enver Hoxha and other leaders of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania." The differences in tone are apparent.

It is also worth mentioning how the book "Albancia i njihove teritorije" [Albanians and Their Territory] published in Tirana in 1982, which included the works of several Kosovo scholars, was evaluated. An article in JEDINSTVO, entitled "Anatomy of an Act of Destruction," stated that "the very fact that some scholars from Kosovo found a place in an anthology with expressed irredentist pretensions says a sufficient amount about the level of scientific accuracy and exactitude attained." Many of the scholars named refused any sort of comment in responding to the editorial staff of JEDINSTVO, but they silently condemned those who, in putting this book together in Tirana, obviously took advantage of the authors represented. RILINDJA, as deduced from the analysis of the Republic Committee for Information of Serbia, did not write anything about this. Nor did it write anything about the unscholarly based "Response to Remarks Connected With the Text 'Albanians and Albanian-Yugoslav Relations' in the 'Yugoslav Encyclopedia' which was published in the journal KOSOVO by Ali Hadri.

RILINDJA published an objection written by a reader in Skoplje; the objection was written because broadcasts in the Albanian language by Radio-Skopje pronounced the name of the city as Skoplje, and not as Skup. Later it carried on a debate with Nova Makedonija concerning the fact that the Albanization of names of settlements and toponyms in the Debarska district had been halted, and it also criticized the commission for giving names to streets in Pristina which overshadowed prominent figures from Albanian national history--Hadzi Imera, Ljutvija Pacarizija, Isu Boljetinija, Sulejmana Voksija, Imera Prizreniz, Ali Pas Gusija, Avnija Rustemija, and others. In this context, the public has not been informed about procedures concerning names of Serbs and Montenegrin persons.

On the topic of the birthrate, RILINDJA, for example, said: "We must be happy about the fact that with this kind of a sudden drop in the number of births in Yugoslavia, the Kosovo increase in population, which contributes to the fact that the line in the table illustrating the birthrate in Yugoslavia does not fall, can be regarded as fortunate."

And JEDINSTVO, claiming that an inexplicable increase in the number of Serbian and Montenegrin women who are employed exists, asks whether being overburdened with duties is for some a stimulus, and for others an obstacle, in being employed. JEDINSTVO asked a second, more difficult question: "Is it a matter of partiality in employment of Albanian

women in this scheme of things, or is this trend, perhaps, connected with the predominant role of motherhood?"

The difficult consideration of political errors did not characterize this discussion, but it did point out mistakes (in the accompanying analyses). One was mentioned which referred to our newspaper because of a sentence written by the critic Dragutin Gostuski last spring--"Does TV Pristina really think that (the songs of Evrovizija) can actually be represented in the Albanian language in this international parade?" Analyses qualified this sentence as a nationalist attack, but it was stated that the editorial staff of NIN had accepted the error by the next issue, which was due to lapse and oversight.

#### Who Has Been Deprived?

The discussion, however, touched on several other seemingly interesting and delicate questions. Branislav Brboric, while talking about national emancipation, stated that up to now it had come out that only Albanians are (have been) deprived in this regard. Although it is understood that they are most deprived, all other peoples have also been deprived--Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Croats, and gypsies--because this area of our country remained under Turkish rule for the longest time, along with Macedonia and Sandzak, "on the periphery of the worm-eaten empire." "There can be no doubt," said Brboric, "that Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, and Muslims in Kosovo cannot communicate on an equal basis if they have not studied and learned well the Albanian language as well. On the other hand, without a good knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, Albanians cannot communicate very well, on an equal basis, on the unified Yugoslav market, which is not only a market for goods, but also one of culture, ideas, communication, and information." Brboric recalled that the constitution also allows the possibility of bringing in two-language sections, in which all pupils take one part of the course in one language, regardless of what their mother tongue is, and the other part in the other language.

Branislav Brboric pointed out a fact in this discussion that is sometimes forgotten--"in some Kosovo opstinas, during the last 10 years, the Albanization of Muslims, whose mother language is Serbo-Croatian, has been carried out; this has been a linguistic Albanization (attending schools in the Albanian language), and one of names and surnames." "The problem is," Brboric said, "--and this is what has been forgotten--that there are Muslims, Croats, Turks, gypsies, and even Macedonians in Kosovo, who also have had their own emancipatory needs."

9548

CSO: 2800/332

YUGOSLAVIA

DECISION ON MONEY ISSUANCE, CREDIT POLICY FOR 1984

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 17, 6 Apr 84 pp 504-506

[Text] Decision on Implementing the Goals and Tasks of Joint  
Issuance and Monetary Policy and the Joint Principles for  
Credit Policy in 1984

1. In order to implement the goals and tasks that were established by the decision on the goals and tasks for the joint issuance by associated labor, for which it was established that the basic issuance and monetary policy and the joint principles for credit policy in 1984 (continuing the text of the "Decision on the Goals for 1984"), this decision establishes more specifically the framework and tasks for carrying out the joint issuance and monetary policy and the joint principles for credit policy in 1984, which apply to regulation of the money in circulation, the directions for implementing the credit policy, maintaining liquidity, and implementing a joint selective credit policy.

2. The primary issuance in 1984 has been established at a total amount of 110,000,000,000 dinars, of which:

- a) the sum of 3,000,000,000 dinars will be used for meeting the obligations established by special federal law;
- b) the sum of 106,200,000,000 dinars will be used for the monetization of securities and for the support of implementation of selected goals and tasks of the monetary-credit policy;
- c) the sum of 3,500,000,000 dinars will be used for issuing short-term credits to banks on the grounds of credits issued to citizens on the basis of the final sale of foreign exchange.

If there are changes in effects on the basis of which the extent of the primary issuance in paragraph 1 of this section was established, and if the SFRY Assembly, in accordance with section 2 paragraph 2 of the Decision on the Goals for 1984, makes certain corrections to the growth of the monetary-credit framework from paragraph 1 of this section, the National Bank of Yugoslavia will propose a corresponding correction of the extent of the primary issuance from paragraph 1 of this section.

3. The primary issuance, within the amount from section 2 paragraph 1 provision 1) of this decision, will be used to meet the remaining obligations established by the Law on Ensuring Funds for Railroad Transportation Organizations of Associated Labor the Purchase of Rail Vehicles of Domestic Production (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 77/82), the application of which is being extended in 1984 as well, in accordance with section 20 paragraph 2 line 7 of the Resolution on the Socioeconomic Development and Economic Policy of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in 1984.

4. The primary issuance, within the amount from section 2 paragraph 1 provision 2) of this decision, will be used for:

- 1) the purchase of short-term transferable securities issued by organizations of associated labor from the area of the economy or their internal banks in connection with deals involving the purchase and sale of goods and the performance of services in Yugoslavia, and for issuing credits to banks on the basis of the securities and foreign securities possessed by organizations of associated labor;
- 2) supporting implementation of selective goals of the monetary-credit policy.

5. Support through the primary issuance for the implementation of selective goals of monetary-credit policy from section 4 provision 2) of this decision will be conducted through the monetization with a selective designation of securities and other documents issued or acquired by organizations of associated labor in the area of the economy or their internal banks on the basis of commodity-monetary work by organizations of associated labor, for the purposes from section 5 paragraph 3 of the Decision on the Goals for 1984.

6. The National Bank of Yugoslavia will regulate the conditions for the purchase of securities, for issuing the credits from item 4, and for supporting the implementation of selective goals of monetary-credit policy from section 5 of this decision, in accordance with the framework established in section 2 paragraph 1 provision 2) of this decision.

In regulating the conditions from paragraph 1 of this section, the National Bank of Yugoslavia will exert influence to have the primary issuance, in export deals, used to encourage a more rapid collection of payment for goods and services exported, and greater mobility of the overall foreign exchange, and with respect to other selective purposes, to ensure the coordination of the deadlines for the use of the primary issuance with the cycle of production of individual products and the creation of a reserve of these products, and coordination with the commodity-monetary relationships and needs of the market.

7. In accordance with the provisions of section 7 paragraph 1 of the Decision on the Goals for 1984, the competent organ of the market inspectorate, when it establishes that an organization of associated labor is not adhering to the regulation on the social control of prices, is responsible for immediately lodging a complaint about this with the bank financing this organization of associated labor and with the territorially competent national bank of the republic or national bank of the autonomous province.

On the basis of a complaint under paragraph 1 of this section, the bank will immediately, and at the latest within a period of 5 days from the receipt of the complaint, halt further financing of the organization of associated labor concerning which it has been established that it is not adhering to the regulation on the social control of prices, and begin to collect payment for credits and other deposits from that organization of associated labor. Within the same period, it is to report on this to the territorially competent national bank of the republic or to the competent national bank of the autonomous province.

If the bank does not proceed according to paragraph 2 of this item, the competent national bank of the republic or competent national bank of the autonomous province will cancel that bank's further use of credits and the issue of all credits and other deposits from the primary issuance, and will collect payment from that bank on all of its payment requests based on credits and other deposits granted from the primary issuance, and it will report on this to the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

8. In accordance with the provisions of section 7 paragraph 3 of the Decision on the Goals for 1984, it is felt that an artificial shortage of goods has appeared in the unified Yugoslav market when organizations of associated labor have maintained an unjustifiable level of stocks of a given good, and at the same time this good has not been on the market.

The Federal Secretariat for the Market and General Economic Affairs establishes whether an artificial shortage of a given good has occurred, and which organizations of associated labor are maintaining an unjustified level of stocks of this good, and immediately reports this to the banks that are financing these organizations of associated labor and the territorially competent national bank of the republic or national bank of the autonomous province and the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

9. If basic agricultural and food products are bought up contrary to the provisions of agreements concluded on the organized purchase of these products or contrary to the regulations on the establishment of prices, the competent organ of the market inspectorate will be responsible for submitting a complaint on this at once to the bank that is financing this organization of associated labor and the territorially competent national bank of the republic or the competent national bank of the autonomous province.

On the basis of a complaint under paragraph 1 of this section the bank will immediately, and at the latest within a period of 5 days from the day of the receipt of the complaint, halt further financing of the organization of associated labor concerning which it has been established that it is purchasing agricultural and food products contrary to the provisions of agreements concluded on the organized purchase of those products or contrary to the regulations on the establishment of prices, and begin to collect payment on credits and other deposits already issued from that organization of associated labor, and within that same period it will report this to the territorially competent national bank of the republic or the national bank of the autonomous province.

If the bank does not proceed according to paragraph 2 of this section, the competent national bank of the republic or competent national bank of the autonomous province will cancel this bank's use of the primary issuance on the basis of these credits, and it will begin to collect payment, on payment requests, from this bank, for its use of the primary issuance on this basis, and it will report this to the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

10. The National Bank of Yugoslavia, in accordance with the framework established in section 2 paragraph 1 provision 3) of this decision, will regulate the conditions for issuing credits to banks from the primary issuance on the basis of credits that the banks issued to citizens for housing construction, the purchase of apartments, the building and equipping of artisan shops, agricultural business facilities, and other business facilities for performance of the regular business of citizens, on the basis of final sale of foreign exchange from their foreign exchange accounts and foreign exchange savings deposits.

11. Through their acts on business policy, the banks will ensure that their deposit policy is being conducted in accordance with the policy established in sections 3 and 4 of the Decision on the Goals for 1984.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia, together with the national banks of the republics and the national banks of the autonomous provinces, will use the measures from section 4 paragraph 1 of the Decision on the Goals from 1984 and other measures within their competence to ensure that the banks' deposit policy is being carried out in accordance with the policy in paragraph 1 of this section.

Banks cannot give new credits for preparing production for export, producing for export, or exporting goods and services to those organizations of associated labor and other social legal persons which, with respect to article 81 paragraph 2 of the Law on Foreign Exchange Business and Foreign Credit Relations, are keeping the part of the foreign exchange for socially recognized reproduction requirements in a foreign exchange account longer than 15 days from the date of the addition of the foreign exchange to the foreign exchange account.

Banks that proceed contrary to the provision of paragraph 3 of this section will be denied use of the primary issuance by the competent national bank of the republic or the competent national bank of the autonomous province, which will inform the National Bank of Yugoslavia about this.

12. In 1984, the National Bank of Yugoslavia can regulate the rates of the mandatory reserves of the banks at the National Bank of Yugoslavia within these maximum rates:

- 1) up to 18 percent for deposits on demand;
- 2) up to 5 percent for deposits with a period of notice greater than one year.

The mandatory reserve will not be settled with the funds of citizens at the banks, deposits and other funds for housing construction at the banks nor with any other funds of the banks that were not used to settle this reserve in 1983.

13. In order to strengthen financial discipline and ensure the liquidity of the banks, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the national banks of the republics, and the national banks of the autonomous provinces will prevent use of the primary issuance, except in the cases in sections 7, 8, and 9 and section 11 paragraph 4 of this decision, by a bank:

- 1) that does not meet the required minimum general conditions for credit-worthiness;
- 2) that in accordance with the regulations, is not considered to be solvent, and that does not take steps to eliminate the causes of the illiquidity;
- 3) whose deposit policy is not in accordance with the policy in section 11 paragraphs 1 and 2 of this decision;
- 4) which gives deposits to beneficiaries who do not meet all of the conditions of credit-worthiness and financial discipline, and who do not settle their due obligations for previously given credits and other deposits, and to beneficiaries who do not insure their commodity-monetary transactions with instruments for insuring payment in accordance with the Law on Insuring Payments among Users of Social Funds;
- 5) which does not ensure control over the designated use of the deposits and does not undertake measures with respect to irregular debtors for due credits and other deposits;
- 6) which does not meet the obligations under self-management agreements concluded at the level of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

14. The funds of the republics, autonomous provinces, and opstinas deposited with the national banks of the republics and the national banks of the autonomous provinces can be deposited in 1984 in accordance with the measures of the credit policy of the republics and autonomous provinces, provided that the national banks of the republics and the national banks of the autonomous provinces ensure that in each republic and autonomous province these deposits are within the limits of the available funds.

15. This decision goes into effect on the day following its publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

Belgrade, 20 March 1984  
Federal Executive Council  
Vice President Borisav Srebric

9909  
CSO: 2800/319

PRAXIS PHILOSOPHER STOJANOVIC GIVES VIEWS ON POLITICAL CHANGE

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 20 Apr 84 p 47

[Interview with Svetozar Stojanovic, one of the leaders of the Praxis group, by Ursula Rutten; date and place not specified]

[Text] At the end of the 60's, at the beginning of the 70's, when Marxism dominated the intellectual debate, Yugoslavia was a center of Marxist philosophizing. Every summer, professors and students from the East and West met at the island of Corcula. They were invited by the Praxis group, an association of philosophers at Belgrade University. They published the journal PRAXIS, which also numbered among its colleagues Ernst Bloch and Jürgen Habermas. The summer school at Corcula and the journal PRAXIS for a long time were the very essence of legitimate hopes for real Democratic Socialism--until in 1974-75, the entire Praxis group was expelled from the university and the journal had to be stopped. Economic and political difficulties at the end of the Tito era had as their result that the "chief thinkers" of a democratic soviet socialism were pushed to the wall. However, in recent years the situation has become easier. Svetozar Stojanovic, one of the leading heads of the Praxis group, provides information concerning the present situation in the course of the following interview. Stojanovic, about 50 years old, is known here through the books "Critique and Future of Socialism" (1970) and "History and Party Consciousness" (1978). The interview was managed by Ursula Rutten.

DIE ZEIT: What is your present situation, can you still--or again--work as a Praxis philosopher?

Stojanovic: Well, for 2 years I have had a job at Belgrade University, at the "Center for Philosophy and Social Theory," founded recently in 1981, at the Institute for Social Sciences. There I collaborate with six colleagues, people from the Praxis group, who, like myself, were suspended and then dismissed from the college for years. The fact that we could persuade the Serbian government to permit the founding of this research center

for current philosophic and sociological problems, we already regard as a considerable success in our strivings for full rehabilitation.

DIE ZEIT: But you have been separated from teaching activity of the university. Your research projects have a theoretical character. Do you feel pushed aside--to "meditating" about social practice?

Stojanovic: No, I wouldn't say that. First of all, it is of great value to us that we can collaborate at all at one place, not dispersed among various institutes, as had originally been intended. Secondly, we have the possibility of publishing some of our research, and inviting public discussion about it. We have a lively exchange with other universities, especially with Zagreb and with the entire circle of the Praxis group. We carry on seminars at the "International University Center for Post-graduates" in Dubrovnic. We maintain as many foreign contacts as possible, either as visiting professors, for instance myself at Goettingen University, or for example, at the end of May, with colleagues of the Gramsci Institute in Rome. After some visits back and forth, we invited them, with official support, to our center at Belgrade for an exchange of ideas.

DIE ZEIT: Can you say openly what you are thinking, or is it a good idea to cut out such taboo topics from your discussions?

Stojanovic: Let's take as an example the visit of our Italian colleagues. The party was here primarily concerned that internal Yugoslavian problems would not be the center of discussion. For the sake of safety, the party therefore insisted on having some qualified members participate in the discussions. This was fine with us, for we had nothing to hide. When party members sit down at one table with Praxis philosophers, the "danger from the enemy of the class" really cannot be so great. At least we were successful in terms of attention.

DIE ZEIT: As a whole, how do you evaluate the freedom of movement for critical intellectuals in recent times after Tito's death?

Stojanovic: I do think that the life of intellectuals in Yugoslavia has become more liberal in recent years.

DIE ZEIT: Including also the possibility of expressing one's opinion openly and publicly?

Stojanovic: Yes, indeed. It is noticeable that there is no censor any more. Just for example, take the press. In recent times, there have been very open, critical articles.

DIE ZEIT: Even about aspects of Yugoslav policy that deserve criticism?

Stojanovic: About this too. About the necessity of social and economic reforms, that's exactly what I mean. But the decisive point for the situation of the Yugoslav press finally is where it appears. It really must be said that the media are largely a reflection of the opinion of the governments of the particular member republics. Critical writing tends to concern the mistakes of others. To have some kind of objective information, one has to read two or three papers from various republics.

DIE ZEIT: Precisely in more recent times, the Yugoslav press has been under increasing pressure from the political administration, precisely because it is said to contain too much negative material concerning the internal development of Yugoslavia. Now, how about the publishers who are independent of the party. Can a critical journalistic opposition get a hearing without jeopardizing its existence?

Stojanovic: For example, there are some journals like TEORIJA or NASE TEME, which contain papers which would have caused a severe condemnation even three or four years ago, for example the series of articles about the crisis in Yugoslavia which appeared last December in NASE TEME. There is pressure from below, from Democrat-Socialist oriented intellectuals. Sometimes with tacit toleration, sometime even with public support from party members. More and more publishers and editors oppose the printing of the official political position and bring to the market books that were previously practically prohibited.

DIE ZEIT: Pressure from below: Socialism, Communism as a broad social movement. That's how you always imagine practical Democratic Socialism. Now you are evidently drawing hope from the increasing social-political participation of the intellectuals. Would you wish, if possible, a mass movement such as the Polish "Solidarity" as a promoter of true Democratic Socialism in Yugoslavia?

Stojanovic: No, such a mass movement in Yugoslavia I consider neither possible nor necessary.

DIE ZEIT: Not possible, because the political mood in Yugoslavia is not appropriate?

Stojanovic: Not possible and not necessary, because the role of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia is different than the role of the Polish Workers Party. Poland also differs from Yugoslavia in being a nationally-religiously homogeneous country. But the essential difference lies in the significance of the role of the Communist Party and of Marxism. Although I have for a very long time had a highly critical posture with respect to Yugoslavia's Communist Party, I must honestly say that, in the eyes of the populace, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is still a guarantor of national independence. More generally, I would say: In countries of "real existing socialism", Marxism is done for in the eyes of the people. Why? Because that is the language of the dominating class, the political elite. And the people are sick and tired of it. And for this reason, I believe, there is no possibility at all, in Eastern Europe, to express politically-socially relevant reform ideas in a Marxist language. Not so in Yugoslavia. Here, the people already have been ready to experience some important reforms, in the 50's and 60's, on the basis of Marxism. In other words: Yugoslavia is still open to Marxist reform policies.

DIE ZEIT: So the crisis, which Yugoslavia is indisputably involved in at this time, is not a legitimization crisis of the party, as is the case in Poland?

Stojanovic: The Communist Party of Yugoslavia can still base its legitimization on its role in the Second World War and in particular in the people's liberation battle, and on retaining its national independence after the break with Stalin. And now it must radically democratize itself if it wishes to defend credibly its claim for the leading ideological role in the country. Only in this way can it withstand the tremendous pressure of social and economic circumstances.

DIE ZEIT: On a first hearing, this sounds quite abstract now.

Stojanovic: I always said: In the final analysis, there is no healthy, developed, Democratic Socialism without political pluralism. But if I address only this perspective, it could be misunderstood. And this would be politically and morally irresponsible. Because what is involved in Yugoslavia is not some abstract model of democracy, but a gradual process of liberalization and democratization. So that I will be properly understood by the people, so that my ideas will be indeed critical but also realistic, I say: A multi-party system is not a solution for Yugoslavia /at this time/ and specifically for three reasons:

1. In terms of realistic politics, this is impossible because the Communist Party would not allow it.
2. It would not be a realistic solution, because nationally and religiously we are a very complicated country with a history lacking a great liberal-democratic tradition. Political pluralism on this basis, for example with a Serbian and a Croatian party, that would be a national catastrophe.

3. The geostrategic position of Yugoslavia is so complicated that one always must consider the possibility of external interference in our affairs. An unrestricted political pluralism, however, could also give those social forces in Yugoslavia a legal chance to support foreign intervention.

For these reasons, I say we must be more modest. We must work at democratizing our system, and especially on the radical democratization of the party and the unions.

DIE ZEIT: And what are your specific ideas for political reforms in Yugoslavia?

Stojanovic: In Yugoslavia, I proposed that one must begin with the radical democratization of the party and of the unions. In these organizations, there must be free elections with several candidates. In particular, I imagine that the parties and the unions will join together in a social alliance. This new alliance of Socialists, in contrast to the existing alliance of the working people of Yugoslavia, should have a completely democratic structure. Communists and non-Communists should be able exchange their arguments openly and equally on the basis of our socialist values. That is social self-management, social property, all strategically important means of production, Federalism, block freedom. This Socialist alliance would make possible a voluntary political collaboration in the material, constructive composition of party members and party-independent Democratic Socialists. And this Socialist alliance could than also produce candidates for free elections - selected according to the criteria of their qualifications and not in terms of towing the line or career consciousness.

DIE ZEIT: Assuming that your model of ideas could establish itself in practice, could you imagine becoming politically active under such reformed Democratic conditions?

Stojanovic: As far as I am concerned as a Praxis philosopher, I cannot imagine that. My role, my understanding of myself will always be to develop new ideas, to introduce new proposals into social-political practice. Whether or not these are accepted is a different matter. In other words, I would not strive for any political position, let alone political power. This motive was always ascribed to us, when we were attacked, but in every respect it contradicts an understanding of our role in society.

DIE ZEIT: But one could also argue in such a fashion that you and/or your colleagues in the Praxis group are not ready to take over practical responsibility for your ideas?

Stojanovic: Naturally this depends on what you understand by politics. I develop very many decisively political ideas and I also bear a moral responsibility for this. I am always ready to discuss it. In this sense, I certainly do not stand outside of politics. You know, what you are addressing here is also an existential decision. Had I chosen this path of political participation, I would have taken it already 20 years ago, when I was in the Party and still had this opportunity. But I did not want to take this path, because I defined my role in such a fashion that I now live and work. And the Praxis intellectuals now rather have a symbolic, moral-political role, without allowing themselves to be coopted by any institution.

YUGOSLAVIA

DISPUTE OVER TOMB MARKERS FOR 'ENEMIES' AIRED

Legislation Proposed in Montenegro

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1741, 13 May 84  
p 17

[Article by Ljubomir Djikanovic: "Monuments to Enemies and ..."]

[Text] The graves of people who were killed or died as enemies of Yugoslavia's national liberation struggle or of our country's social system of socialist self-management, must not be marked by monuments or other cemetery markers. Existing monuments and markers of the graves of those persons which have been erected to date shall be removed within a period of 1 year. This is the essence of the most important innovations in the new law on burials and on the arrangement and maintenance of cemeteries in Montenegro which will soon be enacted.

The preparations of the new version of this law have taken an unusually long time, nearly 3 years. In the meantime the public has received warnings about erecting monuments to enemies of the National Liberation War. According to official information, there are about 300 monuments and grave markers to "enemies" in the most diverse forms. According to those same sources, so far "about 160 monuments and markers of the graves of enemies have in some manner been removed." Now there are demands that those figures in the official reports be checked precisely.

Many individuals, above all veterans of the National Liberation War, have issued warnings that the erection of monuments to traitors and war criminals has become widespread, as though the opinion were now established that the statute of limitation has expired on atrocities and treason, that these things can be forgotten, so that monuments have been raised "in memory of our dearest ..." when it is well known that these people fired on the patriots of this country, that they cruelly mistreated the innocent population.... Thus the son of Chetnik commander Pavle Djurisic, who had been the leader of a persecution squad, erected a monument to his father at the very place where his father was executed as an enemy of the National Liberation War and also at his birthplace, several hundred kilometers from the place where he was executed. And the son who in this case was "remembering his parent" in this manner is a member of the LC, deals with responsible public affairs, and indeed even "ideological affairs within the League of Communists...."

There are also other more subtle "acts of commemoration," we were told by Petar Zogovic, sociopolitical worker, a lawyer in the Montenegrin Republic Committee of the Federation of Veterans of the National Liberation War: "In one place, in the village graveyard, a man erected a monument to his father, but at the same time he did not forget his grandfather, known to have been an enemy of the people in the last war. The marker says 'Here lies Ljubo, son of Markisa.' And that Markisa was an enemy of his own people."

Zogovic feels that most of the ambiguities arose out of the earlier internal contradictions in certain points of the Law on Cemeteries and the Law on Public Peace and Order, dating from 1978. One of the articles in that law prohibited the "placement of markers, information, inscriptions, photographs or other grave markers which indicate directly or indirectly that the person who was killed or died was an enemy of the National Liberation War or the socio-political system of Yugoslavia...." According to analyses of the veterans' organization, this law did not "define what was meant by a person who had lost his life as an enemy and should also have taken into account the extent of the hostile relationship, subsequent rehabilitation...." According to that criticism, the law should have taken into account "the period when the person lost his life--during the war, after the war, before actual rehabilitation...." The earlier law did not even indicate the "official entity or organization responsible for removing prohibited markings or inscriptions."

Now the proposed version of the new law provides as follows: "The graves of persons who were killed or died as enemies of the National Liberation Struggle, Yugoslavia or the SFRY's system of socialist self-management may not be marked with monuments nor other grave markers.... It is prohibited to write names and place inscriptions, pictures and other symbols which would directly or indirectly indicate that the person who was killed or who died belonged to hostile movements directed against that struggle or which indicate his hostile activity against the social system and security of the SFRY on graves, monuments or other grave markers...."

As we have said, according to the incomplete records of the Montenegro Republic Committee of the Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War, there are now in this republic more than 300 monuments and grave markers on which more than 370 names of criminals, traitors and enemies of our society have been inscribed. Excepting Tivat, Herceg-Novi and Rozaje, such monuments exist in all Montenegrin opstinas, and the leaders are Niksic (64), Danilovgrad (61), Titograd (55), Ivangrad (51) and Bijelo Polje (48).

#### Reaction in Belgrade

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1741, 13 May 84  
p 17

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "... Dividing Up Enemies"]

[Text] Almost all those we talked with were surprised by the endeavor of the Montenegrin legislators to include in the new republic law on cemeteries an article which for a start would require demolishing about 300 monuments

erected to enemies of the National Liberation Struggle. The first thing we did was to check to see whether this was only a Montenegrin idea or represented some federal agreement which the Montenegrins were the first to begin carrying out. In the federal headquarters of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] and the Federal Conference of SAWP the competent people told us that not only was there no such agreement at the federal level, but that we were the first to tell them about an idea which was made public last Monday by POLITIKA EKSPRES. The competent people in the federal bodies we turned to refused even to comment on the proposed version of the Montenegrin law on cemeteries until "a common stand is taken" in their respective forums.

Dragomir Nikolic, assistant secretary in the Republic Committee for Urban Planning, Housing and Municipal Services and Utilities, familiarized us with the Serbian Law on Burial and Cemeteries, whose Article 8, which is important to the whole story, reads: "It is prohibited to erect monuments and other grave markers which would indirectly or directly indicate the membership of the person who has been killed or died to hostile movements directed against the National Liberation Struggle of Yugoslavia or which indicate in any other manner his participation directed against that struggle, or which indicate his hostile activity against the social system and security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

"It is prohibited," Article 8 continues, "to place on monuments or other grave markers information, inscriptions, photographs and other characters (symbols) which directly or indirectly indicate the membership of the person who has been killed or died to hostile movements directed against the National Liberation Struggle of Yugoslavia or which indicate in any other manner his participation against that struggle or which indicate his hostile activity against the social system and security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Serbia adopted this law in 1977. The republic law in effect in Montenegro was passed a year later, and the article on the graves of "enemies" was almost literally "copied." In the intervening years there has been criticism in Montenegrin to the effect that that article is "unclear" and "indefinite." So we asked Nikolic what he thought about Article 8?

"I feel that that article is altogether clear and sufficient and that there are no problems from the legal standpoint, nor is there any initiative in Serbia to amend the law on cemeteries."

We received confirmation of this from Nikola Bugarcic, chairman of the Commission for Nurturing the Revolutionary Traditions of the Serbian SUBNOR, who added:

"A greater problem for us is maintaining the monuments to those who fought in past wars."

Miodrag Sokolovic, independent collaborator in the Serbian Republic Agency for Protection of Monuments, said something which is worth thinking about:

"When we gathered our strength and were able to bury the Austro-Hungarian soldiers together with the Serbian soldiers who died in battle in a common memorial grave on Dublje, and indeed even inscribed this on the memorial plaque, why should we not allow the families of those who were on the other side in the last war to bury those close to them in a fitting way? In the final analysis not everyone who fought in hostile armies waged war voluntarily," Sokolovic said.

He reminded us of yet another paradoxical situation in which we might find ourselves should the initiative to demolish the grave markers be adopted and carried out in a radical way. That is, after World War I Yugoslavia assumed an obligation under various international conventions whereby it must preserve and maintain cemeteries of enemy soldiers in our country, Sokolovic said.

One thing is certain: There is no reason for us to "divide up our enemies." But that could happen if we continue to carefully preserve the German and Italian graves, and begin to destroy the graves of domestic enemies. The attitude toward the dead and indeed toward those of whom we are ashamed must continue to be charitable, since this inflicts injuries on certain elementary layers of emotion and morality. We must not use the graves of old enemies to create new ones.

This does not mean that we should show any sort of understanding for gushing grave inscriptions about the "courage and heroism" of certain "military leaders."

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YUGOSLAVIA

DATA ON TRADE WITH ITALY 1979-83

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 84 pp 27-28

[Text] Italy is traditionally a strong foreign trade partner of our country, as demonstrated by the fact that it is in third place in Yugoslav foreign trade (after the USSR and West Germany).

According to information from the Federal Institute for Statistics, our exports to this country in 1983 amounted to \$806 million, which represents 8.1 percent of our total exports. Imports last year were worth \$980 million, or 8.1 percent of our total imports.

In comparison with the preceding year, 1982, exports grew by only \$25 million, or 3.2 percent, while there was a decrease in imports by \$43 million, or 4.2 percent.

From the values for exports and imports presented, it follows that the deficit in the trade balance was \$174 million, concerning which it is worthwhile mentioning that it was \$68 million or 28.1 percent less in comparison with 1982.

Viewed by types of goods, the most exports to Italy in 1983 were those of cut lumber and hardwood and conifer logs worth \$102 million, or 12.6 percent of the total exports to that country, as can be seen from the following summary of the more significant products (with their percentage shares in total exports to Italy):

<u>Type of Good</u>	<u>Exports (million dollars)</u>	<u>%</u>
Cut lumber and hardwood and conifer logs	102	12.6
Young beef and lamb meat	56	6.9
Products of the chemical industry	55	6.8
Corn	37	4.6
Young bulls	36	4.5
Horses for slaughter, work and riding	31	3.8
Electrical machines, equipment and devices	28	3.5
Unalloyed crude aluminum	19	2.3
Raw undyed fabrics	17	2.1
Light trucks from 1-3 tons	16	2.0
External tires for motor vehicles	14	1.7
Parts for motor vehicles	13	1.6
Sugar beet pulp	12	1.5
Electricity and natural gas	12	1.5
Special gasoline, extraction and other	11	1.4
Writing paper	11	1.4
Dry mushrooms	9	1.1
Machines, equipment and parts (other than electrical)	8	1.0
Copper sheet, strips and pipes	7	0.9
Cellulose, bleached (sulfate and sulfite)	7	0.9
Wood fuel and wood byproducts	6	0.8
Cement	6	0.8
Other products	<u>293</u>	<u>36.3</u>
Total:	<u>806</u>	<u>100.0</u>

In imports, the emphasis is on the products of machine-building, the chemical industry, and the electrical industry, the share of which amounts of \$279 million, or 28.4 percent of the total imports from Italy. Otherwise, the imports from that country for the more important products appear as follows (with their percentage share in the total imports from Italy):

<u>Type of Good</u>	<u>Imports (million dollars)</u>	<u>%</u>
Machines (other than electrical)	151	15.4
Chemical products for the needs of industry	115	11.7
Electrical machines, equipment and instruments	66	6.7
Sheet metal	46	4.7
Plastics	38	3.9
Heavy fuel oil and stove oil	37	3.8
Leather	36	3.7
Automobiles, trucks, buses, and parts	35	3.6
Oil cakes and pellets	23	2.3
Rubber, panels and sheets of unvulcanized rubber	23	2.3
Fish meal	21	2.2
Yarn	19	2.0
Fabrics	14	1.4
Motors for motor vehicles and parts	13	1.3
Antibiotics	11	1.1
Electricity	10	1.0
Other products	<u>322</u>	<u>32.9</u>
Total:	<u>980</u>	<u>100.0</u>

When trade with Italy for the past 5 years is examined, the following picture is obtained:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Exports (million dollars)</u>	<u>% Share in Total Exports</u>
1979	716	10.5
1980	833	8.5
1981	1,012	9.3
1982	781	7.9
1983	806	8.1

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports (million dollars)</u>	<u>% Share in Total Imports</u>
1979	1,146	8.2
1980	1,117	7.4
1981	1,291	8.2
1982	1,023	8.0
1983	980	8.1

As can be seen from the above data, trade with Italy during the period from 1979 to 1983 was at a level of a total of \$9.705 billion, of which exports constituted \$4.148 billion or 8.9 percent of the total exports, and imports constituted \$5.557 billion or 8.0 percent of the total imports during this period.

Analyzing the trends in trade for the past five years, we arrive at the conclusion that in comparison with 1978 (exports \$531 million and imports \$827 million), exports in 1983 were \$275 million or 51.8 percent higher, while the increase in imports was \$153 million, or 18.5 percent.

On the basis of the data from the summaries provided, it turns out that each year ended with the following deficits:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Deficit (million dollars)</u>	<u>% Share in Total Deficit</u>
1979	430	6.0
1980	284	4.7
1981	279	5.8
1982	242	8.6
1983	174	7.8

As can be seen, the trade conducted with Italy during the last 5 years has concluded with a deficit totalling \$1,409 million, which constitutes 6.1 percent of the total deficit in this period (\$23.206 million).

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